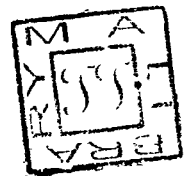


EVALUATION OF GHALIB'S PERSIAN POETRY

Thesis submitted for the Degree
of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN PERSIAN

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The first two Chapters of this thesis are based on existing records of History and have nothing new to unfold, except, by way of short digressions to cover up and elucidate some literary point. The original work begins with the third chapter. This chapter gives a brief account of the Persian poetry produced during the Mughal period which served as a poetic heritage to Ghalib. Attempt has also been made to evaluate and assess the extent of Ghalib's own contribution to the rich legacy left to him by the poets of the preceding age. The fourth chapter provides a bird's eye-view of Ghalib's poetic works and makes an assessment of his command over all the five branches of poetry. The fifth and sixth chapters record my attempt to bring out the out-standing qualities of Ghalib's poetry. Its philosophy, style and diction have been discussed from a new angle. This, perhaps, is my original contribution.

I have summed up the contents of my thesis in the Introduction. The nature of my work and the reasons that prompted me to take it up, have also been explained therein. A chapterwise abstract, however, is being given here to indicate a brief outline of my work.

INTRODUCTION

Reasons for selecting the subject of thesis.

The value and significance of the subject.

Earlier attempts on the subject.

The scope and nature of the present work.

A brief introduction of all the chapters.

English as medium of the thesis and its implications.

Method adopted for critical evaluation.

Chapter I- THE AGE

General condition of the first half of the 19th century.

The Growing British Supremacy.

The Mughal Emperor.

The Age of Reformation.

The impact of Western education.

The Development of Urdu.

Chapter II- LIFE

Birth, Parentage and childhood of Ghalib.

Early education.

The House of Leharu and other relations.

The scholars of Delhi and their influence on Ghalib.

The pension dispute.

The Literary controversy at Calcutta and ~~Mashawi~~ Bad-i-Mukhalif

The Court of Awadh

The imprisonment and the related poem

Ghalib and the Mughal emperor

The war of Independence

Qate-i-Burhan

Ghalib's relation with the State of Rampur.

Death.

Chapter III- HERITAGE

The new school of poetry in India—Urfi, Faizi, Zuhuri.

Talib Amuli, Kalim, and Saib

The school of Bedil.

Ghalib's versatility and strength.

His intellectual development and Bedil's influence.

Comparison with Zuhuri, Urfi and Naziri.

Faizi's Hellenism.

The impact of Nizami and other Iranian poets.

The down-fall of Persian poetry in India.

Chapter IV- THE POETRY.

The Preface

Qit'at

Masnawiyat

Qasaid

Ghazaliyat

Rubaiyat

Ghalib's excellence as Masnawi-writer

Chapter V- PHILOSOPHY

Ghalib- a poet of profound philosophy.

Reflection of contemporary life in Ghalib's poetry.

Realism.

Reason.

Higher conception of Ethics

Emotionalization of knowledge

The challenge of the Present

Physical beauty

The dynamic character of Ghalib's poetry.

The post-modern thinking.

The Intellectual theory of life.

The Greek influence and Hellenism

Mughanninama

The Progressive out-look.

Mysticism- a useless exercise of Ghalib.

Saginama

The Heathenism and Paganism.

The urge and struggle for life.

Ghalib's religious outlook.

Masnawi Abr-i-Guharbar- a pleader for mankind.

Psychological insight

The love-poetry.

The shrewd and unbending lover.

The character of Ghalib's mistress.

Chapter VI- STYLE AND DICTION.

Ghalib's aristocratic up-bringing.

The early stage of colourful and passionate life.

The economic deterioration and the inferiority complex.

Hatred against beaten track.

Affinity with the ancient Iranian creed.

The conflict of the dual personality.

The bitter experiences of life.

Satire.

Irony.

Wit and humour.

The burlesque.

Ghalib the Artist.

His craftsmanship

Similes

The image of Fire

The quest for the unknown and forbidden. ~~and~~ Archaic words
and condensed expressions.

Waris Kirmani
(Waris Kirmani)
29th March, 1965.

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INTRODUCTION

It was not without a good deal of hesitation that I decided to select Ghālib's Persian poetry as the subject of my thesis. Among the many discouraging factors, one was the general attitude of apathy on the part of the Īrānīan scholars towards the Persian writers of India. Notwithstanding the magnificent contribution of the Indian writers to the store-house of Persian thought and learning, it has to be accepted that Persian was for them an alien language and we have to submit to the judgement of Īrānīans in respect of their use of language. I could, therefore, hope to achieve little by writing on an Indian poet whose very claim to the use of Persian, as a means of poetic expression, might be challenged by others. However, Persian has been, in India, the chief vehicle of expression in many branches of human knowledge including poetry. It has produced a number of eminent historians, biographers, lexicographers and of course, a few poets too whose works are held in esteem even today not only in India but also in Īrān. With a glorious history of development across several centuries in India, the language inevitably developed a tradition and acquired a specific hue and texture, largely Indian in character, and capable of appealing mainly to the Indian mind. The works thus produced in the language reflect the urges and aspirations of the Indian people which, again, can best be

appreciated by the scholars of the soil. Now if we decide to neglect these works simply because foreigners have failed to see beauty and worth into them, we shall be guilty of causing an incalculable loss to our national wealth. I call it a loss to national wealth because Khusraw, Faizī, Bedil and Ghālīb were products of the Indian soil as much as Kabīr, Malik Muḥammad Jāisī, Tulsīdās and Khān-i-Khānan were. In fact they were better representatives of Medieval Indian culture, since its composite, variegated nature manifested itself through their writings in Persian.

Ghālīb's Persian poetry is the last great work of art produced in the context of this cultural pattern and as such, it deserves our close and respectful attention. Its influence on our culture and literature has been deep and far-reaching. In addition to being a masterpiece of artistic thought and expression and therefore, a thing of intrinsic value, it marks the transition from the Medieval period to the Modern age in India for it was in Ghālīb that, for the first time in the history of arts and letters in Medieval India, a deviation from traditional modes of thought took place, giving way to a scientific out-look. It was these considerations which impelled me to take up the work despite the discouraging factors. I do not claim that Ghālīb's Persian be treated at par with that of the classical masters. But I do feel that the approach of the Īrānīan writers to the Persian written outside Īrān, need not be as rigid and arbitrary as it has so far been. Persian is a great language and has held sway

over a large part of Asia for many centuries. Its spread and growth were brought about by men of diverse religions and nationalities. Due regard must, therefore, be paid to the divergent styles of the language that resulted from the impact of the varying geographical and historical conditions. It would be unfair to expect the Persian written in Delhī to be strictly of the Tehrān or Tabrīz pattern, particularly when no facilities exist for the free interchange of ideas, as was the case in the days of Ghālīb. In writing on Ghālīb's poetry, therefore, I proceeded on the assumption that Persian was the language of Medieval India and also anticipating readers who regard the Persian works produced in India as their national heritage and hence feel inclined to them.

We know that Ghālīb's popularity in India rests mainly on his Urdū poetry although he himself attached greater importance to his Persian compositions, having devoted the major part of his life and energy to his writings in Persian. His Urdū poetry when compared to that produced in Persian, appears to be very small in volume but it is more easily intelligible to Indians. Extensive work has, therefore, been done on this poetry by our critics and scholars and the minutest details regarding Ghālīb's life and his Urdū poetry have been brought to light. I have taken advantage of all this in trying to understand and evaluate his Persian poetry. The nature of my work, therefore, has not been strictly one of research, in the narrow sense of the word, as it does not aim at digging out new facts about Ghalib's life. It has been, rather,

a work based on the informative material concerning Ghālib's life made available by research scholars. An attempt has been made to study his ideas against the background of this information, so as to give a fuller and more coherent picture of his intellectual achievements. In view of the colossal amount of work that Ghālib left in the Persian language, I feel that the real assessment of his contribution to human thought can never be made by confining oneself to his meagre poetry in Urdū. I also believe that no satisfactory work has so far been done on Ghālib's Persian poetry. The only notable examples of serious study in this connection are the works of Hālī, Ekram and Khalifā 'Abdul Hakīm. One might also mention a few more articles casually written by different scholars.¹ Even the three writers mentioned above have not devoted themselves exclusively to his Persian poetry. Hālī's 'Yādgār-i-Ghālib' is by far the best of all the books written so far on Ghālib, but it has grown out of date now. Being the earliest work on Ghālib, and in such close proximity to his age as to be almost contemporaneous with him, it is both sympathetic and reliable. We can not, however, expect it to fulfil the requirements of modern criticism. The latest book written on the subject is 'Ghālib-his life and Persian poetry' by Dr. 'Arif Shāh C. Sayyid Gīlānī and published lately in Pākistān. It is an honest attempt and speaks of the devotion that the author feels towards Ghālib but its character is more that of a comprehensive review of Ghālib's literary works than a critical appreciation of his poetry. The life of the poet, his

1. The names of Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd, Asad 'Alī Anwarī, Niyāz Fatehpūrī and Imtiaz 'Alī 'Arshī may be especially mentioned from amongst those who have contributed articles relating to Ghālib's Persian poetry.

character and the social environment then existing have been narrated in detail. The book then gives an exhaustive list of the poet's works together with the details of his qaṣīdās and maṣnawīs. Ghazal has been ignored although it enjoys greater popularity and is more representative of Ghālib as a poet. After a thorough study of this book I felt that it had not covered the subject-matter which I proposed to take up. My aim, from the very beginning, has been to focus my attention upon the purely critical aspect of Ghālib's Persian poetry, thus limiting my work to a small sphere of treatment. Instead of arranging his entire poetry from A to Z, I wanted to probe into his vision and if possible, to reach its substance. What is the beauty of Ghālib's Persian poetry? What gives it such a profound appeal to our senses? How far is it the representative of our past culture and learning, and of what help and value is it to us in the present circumstances? What emotional truth and revealing power is there beneath its words that has not grown stale and stimulates our minds even today? It was in this quest that I read Ghālib's poetry for almost a whole year till at last the deeper currents of his thought began to appear in their mutual relationship. I then tried to catch the recurring ideas in Ghālib's poetry, the nature of his imagery and metaphor and the general pattern of his thought. For this purpose I had to look at his poetry as an integrated unit and not in separate divisions of ghazal, qaṣīdā and maṣnawī. I do not think that such a division can ever be helpful in understanding the nature of basic ideas in his poetry. We can hardly afford to make watertight compartments of ghazals,

qaṣīdās and maṣnawīs when a final evaluation of poetry is aimed at. I have, therefore, refrained from dealing separately with these sub-divisions and have confined myself to making an assessment of the poetry as a whole. My task would have been considerably facilitated if his poetry had been available in a chronological instead of the alphabetical order but unfortunately no such collection of his works exists.

The first chapter of my study deals with a general survey of Ghālib's age with special reference to the religious, social and political movements that were at work at the time and influenced the poet's thinking. The second chapter deals with the poet's life. I have based the account of his life mostly on Mālīk Rām's book 'Zikr-i-Ghālib' which is both short and authentic. In dealing with the poet's life, I have tried to emphasise its significant aspects only, leaving aside the unnecessary details. I have digressed, where necessary, to discuss poems that are related to some particular episodes of the life of the poet. In making a correct assessment of Ghālib's achievement as a poet, it was imperative to determine the nature of the heritage on which he raised the structure of his art. This forms the subject matter of the third chapter. It entailed a wide range of study, covering almost the entire history of Persian literature with special reference to the Mughal poetry in India which immediately preceded Ghālib. I have studied important poetical works along with the historical chronicles, biographies, memoirs and Tazkirās written during this period. I must, however, acknowledge my indebtedness to the fourth volume of Shirul 'Ajam, the best and most thrilling account of the poets of this period

written by Shibli Numānī. The fourth chapter is based on a general survey of Ghālib's poetry comprising qitāʿāt, maṣnawīyāt, qaṣaid and rubāʿiyāt. I have tried to give the details of these forms along with some of their critical evaluation. The fifth and sixth chapters deal with the main subject. The frame-work of Ghālib's thought and the technique of his art have been examined in detail in these chapters.

I do not know how far I have succeeded in my attempt. Critical appreciation in itself is not an easy job, for it requires deep and prolonged thinking over the subject, followed by a reconstruction of the whole imaginative set-up of a given writer. Numerous difficulties are added to the task when it has to be accomplished in a language different from the text. Although the fundamental nature of poetry may be common, the differences of form and modes of expression peculiar to the native soil always exist in languages and can not be adequately interpreted. No equivalent forms of Persian ghazal and qaṣīdā, for instance, are found in the English language. Critics, hitherto, have been giving the names of lyric to ghazal and ode to qaṣīdā. Now a reader who is not familiar with the Persian ghazal and qaṣīdā can hardly visualise their true nature by these terms. I have, therefore used the original terms as in Persian. Their English equivalents are, however, noted below:

Qitāʿa	=	Fragment
Maṣnawī	=	Epic or long narrative poem
Qaṣīda	=	Ode

Ghazal	=	Lyric
Rubāʿī	=	Quatrain

The tradition of Persian poetry is also alien to the English reader. The extreme type of laudatory verses addressed to a patron in a Persian qas̄ida will appear monstrous when rendered into English. I have, therefore, translated only important pieces of poetry which were either too difficult to be understood by an average Persian-knowing reader or were indispensable for the illustration of an important point. As for the quotations from the prose, I have translated most of them. Attempt has been made to keep the translation as much literal as possible.

In a bid to examine and evaluate the text from all possible angles, I have tried to take a purely objective view of it, without following rigidly any particular school of criticism. It was, nevertheless, inevitable for me to work out my ideas on the lines of western criticism and to refer to its authorities in support of my arguments. Some of my readers might question the propriety of examining Ghālib on the principles set by Coleridge or Arnold but I need hardly apologise for it as our own critical standards are backward and out of date now. Persian literature can, no doubt, lay claim to one of the highest places in the world literature but it has miserably failed to produce good criticism. But for one great book 'Chahār Maqālā' which is perhaps the oldest and one of the best books after "Poetics" in the entire range of world criticism, there is no other book of a high order in Persian language. Even today when literary

criticism has become a fairly advanced science, Īrānīan scholars are more inclined towards doing research over manuscripts and editing their classics. Few, for instance, have interpreted the philosophy of the great Hāfiz on the lines Bradlay has done in relation to Shakespeare. A wider interpretation of the standard Persian poetry on the lines of the knowledge achieved so far, will be, in my humble opinion, a valuable contribution. Let me not be misunderstood that I ever claim to have made this contribution. I have, no doubt, kept it in view as an ideal and have striven to make an identical attempt on one of India's best poets in the Persian language.

CHAPTER I

THE AGE

The first half of the 19th century which mainly forms the period of Ghālib's active life, is of great significance in the history of modern India. It saw the final collapse of the Mughal empire, the elimination of a number of states which had risen on the decline of the Mughal empire and the emergence of the English as a paramount power. It also saw, in consequence of the British impact, the beginning of those changes in the beliefs, practices, and ways of the life of the local people which laid the foundation of the Modern Indian Society. It was during these years that the development of Urdū and Bengālī languages and the replacement of Persian by English, as the language of administration took place. It was also during these years that the strangulation of the Indian handicrafts was effected and India became the unchallenged market for the English manufactured goods. These social, political and economic changes eventually led, in 1857, to that violent outburst which is generally known as the Indian Mutiny.

It was during this period that the British established their political domination over India. It is true that by the end of the 18th century they had become masters of a considerable part of the country, but there were still large areas which were independent; and besides, even those principalities which had come under the British influence were in a state of uneasy dependence.

Furthermore, Delhi was in the hands of the Marāthās, and its Emperor, though a pensioner and shorn of all his political powers, still enjoyed great prestige.

When Delhī was occupied by the British in 1803, they became responsible for the administration and collection, but this was done in the name of the Emperor. Two courts were established, one revenue, and the other criminal; and in the latter, Muslim law was administered. The Emperor's authority was confined within the walls of the fort and the members of the royal family who lived within, enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The etiquette of the court was maintained, as under the great Mughals, and the Resident attended the Darbār in the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ regularly, and performed all the ceremonies like any other courtier. Thus, within the palace walls, the Emperor enjoyed the powers and dignities of a sovereign.

By the time Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, even this limited status of the Mughal Emperor shrank down. Lord Canning decided to proclaim Mirzā Quwaish as Bahādur Shāh's successor, for the former agreed to accept the conditions namely, the title of king would be abolished and the head of the House of Tīmūr would be called merely a Shāhzādā. Canning brought about this settlement under the wrong impression that no pro-Mughal sentiments existed even among the Muslims. How wrong he was, was shortly proved by the events of the first war of Independence, when not only the Muslims but also the Hindūs rallied round the Mughal throne. Though shorn of all political powers, the

Mughal Court still continued to be the centre of culture radiating its influence all over India. It was, to quote Spears "a school of manners" from which the Marāthās, the Jāts and the Sikhs learnt lessons. Mughal dress, etiquette, and forms of address were copied every where. In fact they were no longer regarded as of alien origin, but were looked upon as a part of Indian heritage, evolved by the blending of the Hindū and Muslim cultural traditions. Hindūs and Muslims participated in each other's religious festivals and lived in amity. The communal conflicts caused by the separatist movements, which began later on, were unknown during this period.

Ghālīb's age can well be called to be an age of reformation and renaissance brought about by the impact of the West in India. Indian society was full of social evils like "Sati" and slavery. Female infanticide was quite common among the Jāts, Rājputs and Mewāts in the central and western India. The "Thugs" were spread all over the country and had made roads unsafe for travelling. It was the impact of the West that made Rāja Rām Mohan Roy aware of the evils of the Indian society who turned his attention to social reforms. The Rāja denounced image-worship, sacrificial rites, and took up arms against caste rules, concubinage and the prohibition of widow's remarriage. He summed up his views in Brahmo-Samāj movement which he founded in 1828. He urged for a return to the original principles of Vedāntism and a total rejection of all social and religious evils that had crept into the Hindū society. Later on, Devendranath Tagore, the father of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, joined it and infused new vigour into the

movement.

The impact of western ideas on the Muslims was different from that on the Hindūs, because the former had for a long time stood away from English education. There were social and religious movements among the Muslims too, but they were not prompted by western ideas; they were a reaction either against the Hindū beliefs and practices which the Muslims had imbibed or against the growing religious cultural and political influence of the English. Muslims in Bengāl were educationally backward, religiously degenerate, and culturally demoralized. Men like Mīr Nāṣir 'Alī and Hājī Shari'atullah aroused the Muslims of Bengāl from their torpor so that they might appreciate the state they were in.

Saiyid Ahmad Shahīd of Rai-Bareilly was the founder of a religio-political movement which had many things in common with "Wahābism". Possessed of a deeply religious nature, he came under the influence of Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz. His main objective was to restore Islām to its pristine purity and to cleanse it of all the superstitions and accretions of Indian and Irānian origin. Saiyid Ahmad was influenced by the ideas of Shāh Waliullah and Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz, but unlike the Wahābīs, he held liberal views on Ṣūfism and Taqlīd. He regarded widow remarriage as necessary. Again, he denounced pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, fire-works on the occasion of Shab-i-Barāt and various other un-Islāmic practices. However, it is important to note that Saiyid Ahmad not only desired the renaissance of the Muslims in the religious sphere but in the political sphere

as well. Anxious to revive a Muslim state, he was both anti-British and anti-Sikh.

Education, on a comparatively wider scale, also played a big role in reforming the society and modernizing the outlook of the people. Warren Hastings established the Calcuttā Madrasā in 1781 where Muslim law and other subjects relating to Islām were taught. Later on in 1792 a Hindū College was established at Benāres. The Christian missionaries set up schools for European and Indian boys at Serāmpūr near Calcuttā; started a paper factory and a printing press, and began to print translations of the Bible into Bengālī. Thus these missionaries not only laid the foundation of English education in India but also of Bengālī prose literature. The Presidency College was also established during the period under review. It was the seat of secular learning and encouraged freedom of thinking in respect of religion. It played an important part in the social and intellectual life of Bengāl. In the meantime, Rāja Rām Mohan Roy and some important missionaries were constantly urging the Government to introduce the education of western sciences and learning through the English language. Macaulay, the President of the Public Instruction Committee, also favoured these demands. He presented a lengthy note in their support to the Government and suggested that it should do its best "to form a class of persons who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour

but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect". These masses, Macaulay thought would refine the vernaculars, enrich them with western scientific terms, and thus enable them to become the vehicles of conveying knowledge to the great bulk of the people. The result was that schools at the headquarters of districts, later known as High Schools, began to be established. The cause of English education was further advanced by the announcement made by Lord Hardinge in 1844 that candidates qualified in the knowledge of English, would be preferred for the public services. Voluntary efforts for such an education were supported by grants-in-aid. Female education was also encouraged, and Universities were established at Calcuttā, Bombay and Madrās on the model of the London University.

The first half of the nineteenth century also saw the development of Urdū language and literature. This was, to a great extent, due to the British impact. In 1800 Fort William College was founded in order to teach Indian languages to the English men, and John Gilchrist, who became its first Principal, played a vital role in developing Urdū prose. In his college, he gathered able men and encouraged them to write in simple and direct language, free from the cumbersome and ornate style hitherto employed under the Persian influence. In consequence of his efforts, books on Law and Medicine were written and works of history, fiction and ethics were translated from Arabic,

Persian and Sanskrit, Urdū grammar was written and dictionaries were compiled. The introduction of the printing press and the recognition of Urdū in 1833 as the court language in place of Persian, gave a great impetus to its development. The christian missionaries of Serāmpūr in Bengāl published Urdū translations of the Bible in addition to a large number of pamphlets and papers. Since the object of all those publications was to take them to the masses, they were written in simple style.

The political, social and economic changes that took place during the first half of the 19th century, though led to the cataclysm of the Mutiny, also made possible the birth of Modern India. These years also brought into existence a middle class of businessmen, lawyers, doctors and government servants which later on, was to lead India to freedom. The destruction of village economy and textile industry, based on the handloom, and the spinning wheel, paved the way for the evolution of a new and better mode of production.

CHAPTER II

LIFE

Born in 1797 at Āgrā, Ghālib was a descendant of Aibaks, a clan of the Turks from Central Asia. The Aibaks were renowned for their valour and adventurous spirit. Ghālib's ~~great~~-grandfather, Qūqān Beg migrated from Samargand to India in the reign of Shāh Ālam and entered the royal service. His two sons have been mentioned by Hālī, Abdullāh Beg Khān and Naṣrullāh Beg Khān; the former being the father of Ghālib. 'Abdullāh Beg Khān, alias Mirzā Dūlhā was married to Izzatun-Nisā Begam, the daughter of Khwājā Ghulām Husain Khān, a respectable military officer and a grandee of Agra city. 'Abdullāh Beg Khān lived with his father-in-law at Āgrā and his two sons, Mirzā Asadullāh Khān Ghālib and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān, and a daughter Chhotī Khānam were also brought up at the same place. 'Abdullāh Beg Khān, while he was in the service of Rājā Bakhtāwar Singh of Alwar, received a bullet-shot in an expedition and died on the spot. He was buried at Rājgarh. Ghālib was still a minor when this tragic incident occurred. Consequently his uncle, Naṣrullāh Beg Khān had to look after Ghālib and his brother.

Ghālib is said to have spent his childhood in great luxury at Āgrā in the house of his maternal grand-father who was an aristocrat of the day. He played all day long with the sportive boys and lived an utterly uninhibited life with reckless companions of his age. References to his recklessness are to be

found in his letters which he wrote to his intimate friends later on.¹ It was probably during this period that he seems to have acquired the habit of drinking and gambling and is even said to have made amorous advances to a "Domnī"² who lived in the neighbourhood. Later on, when he established himself as a poet of some eminence, he wrote an Urdū ghazal,³ perhaps in the memory of the same lady, who, by that time, was dead. His early marriage, therefore, when he was only thirteen years old, might have been forced on him by his relatives to bridle his amorous spirit. It was anything but congenial to him and we find him regretting it all through his life.⁴

Ghālīb was a learned man of his time. Apart from the literary achievements in which he was unsurpassed, his knowledge of astrology, philosophy, logic, music and the science of medicine was profound and some of his qasīdās speak eloquently of them. Addressing Bahādūr Shāh he says:

مجموعن شاعر و مونی و نجومی و حکیم
نیست در دهر تلم مدعی و کلمه گو است 5

The locality where Ghālīb lived in Āgrā was also the residence of distinguished Persian scholars like Mullā Walī Muḥammad, Mawlawī Muḥammad Kāmil and Mawlawī Muḥammad Muʿazzam. Ghālīb received his early education from the last mentioned person who was a renowned scholar of Āgrā and well versed in all the branches of the current sciences. Mullā ʿAbduṣ Ṣamad,

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1. Khutūt-i-Ghālīb (see letters to Hātīm ʿAlī Mehr) p. 228, 229, also Urdū-i-Muʿallā p. 207.
 2. Khutūt-i-Ghālīb p. 228.
 3. Dīwān-i-Ghālīb, Mālik Rām, p. 164, 165.
 4. Urdū-i-Muʿallā p. 48.
 5. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm, p. 231.

a Zoroastrian convert, has also been referred to as one of Ghālib's teachers. 'Abduṣ Ṣamad's existence has been doubtful from the very beginning but recently it has been almost disproved by Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd's enlightening article published in the Ghālib number of 'Alīgarh Magazine for the year 1948-49.

Ghālib's uncle, Mirzā Naṣrullāh Beg, was an officer in the British army at Āgrā, getting Rs. 1700/- per month as his salary. In addition to this, he had received two parganas also for the maintenance of his Brigade which brought him an annual income of Rs. 150000/-. On his death, the said property merged with the estate of Fīrozpur Jhirkhā and his dependants were allotted a life-pension by the British Government, that was payable from the same estate. Since Ghālib was also a dependant of Naṣrullāh Beg, he too received an yearly pension of Rs. 700/-. In 1810, Ghālib was married to Umrao Begam, daughter of Elāhī Bakhsh Khān Mārūf, who was a brother of 'Ahmad Bakhsh Khān, Nawāb of Fīrozpur Jhirkhā. Earlier, the Nawāb's sister had also been married to Ghālib's uncle, Naṣrullāh Beg Khān. Thus we see that Ghālib's relationship with the House of Lohārū was both monetary and matrimonial. He started coming to Delhī frequently after his marriage and ultimately, in 1812, settled down permanently in this city. Delhī was a great seat of learning at that time. Ghālib's father-in-law was himself a learned man and was keenly interested in mysticism and poetry. He further introduced Ghālib to eminent scholars like Mawlānā Fazl-i-Haq Khairābādī etc. Hence it was here at Delhī, that young Ghālib primarily came into contact with great

minds who exercised a healthy influence on the development of his personality and his future mode of thinking. Fazl-i-Haq Khairābādī warned him against the vague flights of imagination and brought about a restraint and refinement in his art. The Mawlānā made Ghālib conscious of the responsibilities of a great poet, with the result that his ideas began to be channelised and he got rid of many evils that had marked his youth. The artificial style and verbosity of his early writings, under the influence of Bedil, begins now to give way to a simple diction, more easily understandable by the common reader. Behind this change in style is really a change in outlook; Ghālib, the man, has grown; he has definitely left behind his impressionable character and the desire to show off. He has developed a realistic out-look on life and a simpler and effective style of writing more in harmony with the new out-look. There is a growing awareness of the contradictions of experience reflected in the terseness of style.

One important event of Ghālib's life was his journey to Calcutta which he undertook in connection with his pension dispute. Originally, the amount of pension that was required to be paid to the dependants of Naṣrullāh Beg was rupees ten thousand a year. But Nawāb Ahmad Bakhsh Khān Fakhrud-Dawla secured another order from Lord Lake and this reduced the amount to rupees five thousand a year out of which Ghālib's share came to rupees seven hundred per annum only. This amount did not meet Ghālib's requirements and hence he was always in financial trouble. In the meantime,

Nawāb Ahmad Bakhsh Khān retired from active life leaving the estate to his eldest son, Nawāb Shamsud-Dīn Ahmad Khān, who was not on good terms with Ghālib. He penalised Ghālib by withholding the payment of the pension frequently. These were bad days for Ghālib. He had no money even to meet the bare necessities of life. The creditors had lost faith in his paying capacity and stormed his house to recover their dues. About this time, Ghālib's younger brother, Mirzā Yūsuf, turned insane, placing him in a serious mental and financial crisis. These mishaps coupled with the feeling of injustice meted out to him, impelled Ghālib to file a suit against the Nawāb in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Ghālib was about thirty years old when he left for Calcutta via Lucknow and Benāres. He was accorded a warm welcome on his arrival in Calcutta. Mr. Stirling, the then Secretary to the Government of India, gave him a sympathetic hearing and promised to help him.¹ The matter was referred to Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, who happened to be the Secretary to Lord Lake at the time of the award of the pension in dispute. The report of the said Governor, unfortunately, went against Ghālib and the case was dismissed. Ghālib did not lose all hope and appealed to the court of Directors and subsequently sent a petition to Queen Victoria. All his efforts, however, ultimately failed and he gave up his struggle in 1844. Sixteen precious years of his life were thus wasted in litigation and he utilised the last drop of his energy in the struggle, with the only result that he spent the remainder of his life in paying off the heavy debts incurred during the litigation.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nasr p. 167.

Ghālib was forced to stay in Calcuttā for about two years in this connection, where he got an opportunity to move in the literary circles of that place. A special Mushāfirā was arranged in his honour in the building of the Madrasa-i-‘Āliya, maintained by the East India Company.¹ Some persons raised objections against the two verses of Ghālib that were recited by the latter on that occasion. They further produced the authority of Qatīl in their support. This gave rise to a controversy between Ghālib and his critics which ultimately culminated in the production of the famous maṣnawī, ‘Bād-i-Mukhālīf”, by Ghālib. This maṣnawī has been generally regarded as a sort of apology written by Ghālib to appease his opponents at Calcuttā. Dr. ‘Arifshāh C. Sayyid Gilānī in his recent book on Ghālib writes:

‘Later to check the tide, his friends, particularly the Nawāb of Huglī and one Munshī Muḥammad Husain advised Ghālib to come out with some sort of apologia. Accordingly, he wrote the famous ‘Bād-i-Mukhālīf’. This had the desired effect and the fury and rage subsided to a considerable extent”.²

Authorities like Shaikh Muḥammad Ekrām and Mālīk Rām, too, seem inclined to create the same impression but the latter has nowhere expressly called it to be an apology. On the contrary, he has perceived the satirical vein in the maṣnawī and has pointed out its provocative nature. The misunderstanding seems to have originated from Ghālib's own concluding verses that ironically

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nasr p. 170

2. Ghālib His Life and Persian Poetry p.51

declare the poem to be an 'Āshtīnāma' and 'Maẓīratnāma'. Taking the maṣnawī as it is found in Ghālib's published Kulliyāt, I feel inclined to say that Ghālib was not in the least apologetic. He justifies the idioms used by him in the disputed verses and rejects the authority of Qatīl. He is prepared to recognize only the authority of those who are pure Īrānians and he professes to be a follower of 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Zuhūrī, Asīr, Tālib Āmulī and Hazīn, whose names he mentions in the poem. He calls Qatīl to be an ignorant person:

گر چه بیدل ز اهل ایران نیست یک همچو قتبیل نادان نیست 1

Again, he mentions Qatīl and Wāqif scornfully.

آنکس طعنه کرده این موقف را چه شناسد قتبیل و واقف را 2

After deriding Qatīl and his followers, he begins to praise the former, which becomes all the more damaging. As a grown-up person sometimes suspends his judgement to humour an obstinate child, so does Ghālib in the following verses:

لیک با آن همه که این دارم	گنج معنی در آستین دارم
دل و جانم فدای احباب است	شوق و وقت رضای احباب است
مبتنوم خویش را بصلح دلیل	میسرایم نوای مدح قتبیل
تا نماند ز من دگر گله	رسد از پیروان وی صله
گفتن آئین هوشیاری نیست	لیک دانستن اختیاری نیست
گر چه ایرایش نخواهم گفت	سدی نمانیش نخواهم گفت
لیک از من هزار بار به است	از من و همچو من هزار بار به است
من کف خاک و او سپر بلند	خاک را نمی رسد بچرخ کند
وصف او حد جو نمی نمود	مهر در خورد روزی نمود
مرحبا ساز خوش بیانی او	حبذا شوق زنده دانی او

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 99

2. Ibid p. 101

نغمش آب حیات را ماند در روانی فرات را ماند
 نثر او نقش بال طاووس است انتخاب مزاج و قاموس است
 بادشاهی که در قلم و حروف کرده ایجاد نکته های شگوف
 خامه هندوی پاری دانتش صندیان سر بخط فرمانش ¹

Reference might here be made to Ghālib's own words regarding this maṣnawī that I have culled out from one of his letters. Writing to Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, Ṣadr-i-Amin, Bāndā, during the period of his stay in Calcutta, Ghālib says:

جنانچه هم فرمان این دو بزرگوار (نواب اکبر علی خان و محمد محسن) شنوی انشا کرده ام و بعد از انظار مجرب
 و انکسار خویش جوابهای اعتراض دران ابیات موزون ساخته و آن شنوی پسندیده طبع عالی افتاده است ²

"Hence at the direction of these two elderly persons (Nawāb Akbar 'Alī Khān and Mawlawī Muḥammad Muḥsin) I have composed a maṣnawī, wherein, after expressing my modesty and humility, I have versified a reply to the objections and the maṣnawī has been approved by the lofty-minded."

This statement is quite in tune with the spirit of the maṣnawī. It professes to have been written in self-defence against certain objections and not as an apology whatsoever. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd with his remarkable decerning capacity has appreciated this fact and has declared the maṣnawī to be a message of war (Payām-i-Jang) rather than an apology (Āshtīnāma)³. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd has been able to find a copy of this maṣnawī in a collection of Ghālib's Persian letters, preserved in the library of Ḥakīm Ḥabibur Raḥmān Khān of Decca. This copy is rather different from the one generally found in Ghālib's Kulliyāt. A comparison of the two brings out that good

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 101

2. Kulliyāt-i-Naṣr p. 170

3. Islāmic Research Institute Miscellany Vol. I, 1948, p. 183.

many verses were primarily dropped and an equal number was added to it later on. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd feels that the originally dropped verses are submissive in character and full of praise for Qatīl, although not without satirical touch, while those substituted, are openly disparaging. The Qāzī has also pointed out two verses¹ found in the current version, containing derogatory remarks against Qatīl which are missing from the newly discovered copy. As for the change in the text, he says, that it must have been brought about by Ghālib after his return from Calcutta. His words are as follows:

مثنوی موجودہ شکل میں کب آئی اس کے بارے میں صرف انا کہہ جاسکتا ہے کہ اس میں ترمیم
واضافہ مکمل شدہ سے واپسی کے بعد ہوا ہوگا 2

"How the maṣnawī assumed the present form, only this much can be said in this respect that alteration and addition in it might have been made after his return from Calcutta".

Another relevant extract is as follows:-

"م" میں قتیل کی مدح صاف ہجو معلوم ہوتی ہے⁴ "ا" کی مدحیہ ابیات بھی طنز سے
خالی نہیں چونکہ غالب کے زمانے میں مداحی ہر طرح کا مبالغہ جائز تھا بہتوں کی نظر اس
پر پڑی بھی نہ ہوگی کہ جب غالب قتیل کو مستند نہیں سمجھتے تو اسے بزرگ ترین اساتذہ
ایران کا مقابل یا ان سے بہتر کیونکر قرار دیتے ہیں "م" کی ابیات ۸۲ اور ۱۳۶
سے حکم کھلا قتیل کی تعقیب ہوتی ہے یہ ابیات جو مثنوی کی علت غائی کے خلاف ہیں
"ا" میں نہیں ہیں۔ یہ اور بعض دوسرے اضافے اس مثنوی میں ایسے ہوئے ہیں کہ ان
کے بعد اسے پیام جنگ کہہ سکتے ہیں آشتی نامہ نہیں کہہ سکتے 5

"In (م) Qatīl's encomium clearly appears to be satire. The eulogic verses of (ا) too are not without irony. Since in Ghālib's time all kind of exaggeration in encomia

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1. See the verses on page 22.
 2. Islāmic Research Association Miscellany Vol. I. p. 183.
 3. م = Current version of the maṣnawī.
 4. The earlier version of the maṣnawī discovered by Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd.
 5. Islāmic Research Association Miscellany Vol.No.I,1948,p.186.

was permissible, most of the readers would not have noticed as to why Ghālib declares Qatīl to be the equal of, or greater than the biggest masters of Irān when he does not recognize him even as an authority. Verses 82 and 136 of (/) openly disparage Qatīl. These verses, being against the fundamental objective of the maṣnawī are not found in ('). These and some additions to this maṣnawī entitle it to be called a message of war rather than a letter of peace."

These facts and figures can easily be construed to mean, and I am afraid Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd, suspicious as he generally is of Ghālib's intentions, means so by implication, that Ghālib modified the maṣnawī immediately after his return from Calcutta to keep up his egoistic character and uphold his prestige. I, therefore, feel it necessary to submit that no personal motive can be attributed to the later modification of the maṣnawī. This becomes clear when we look at the poem from the artistic point of view which Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd appears to have ignored. A poem can not be treated like a piece of prose as the former has entirely a different creative process. It is hardly final and complete in the first attempt and the poet continues to devote his attention to the elements of form and content both, even after it has been produced in full. The first out-come of any creative impulse is predominantly emotional, and, therefore, refuses to be bound down by the artistic requirements. It is only in the second phase of the creative process, which sometimes occurs when the creation is out, that the intellectual and artistic considerations begin to work and the exuberance and over-growth of the poem is reduced to proportional limits. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd gives no evidence to show that Ghālib worked out the change after his return from Calcutta. His is a pure surmise.

On the contrary, it is quite reasonable to suppose that Ghālib, excited as he was at the moment, distributed the rough out-pour of his feelings in the shape of the version recovered by Qāzī ‘Abdul Wadūd, but soon after, it was polished and chiselled in the final shape that is now included in his Kulliyāt. A comparison of the discarded verses with those substituted, itself speaks of the artistic treatment that the poem has undergone. For instance, the following verses that were discarded are crude and artistically imperfect.

حاصل معنی اے ذوی الافہام	می تراود ازین سیاق کلام
ایک مدت سے یاں ہم آئے ہوئے	بیٹھے ہیں آپ کو ٹٹائے ہوئے
نعلوبود انچہ گفتہ ام زین پیش	این زمانم خجل ز گفتہ خویش
خردہ بر لغومن چہ می گیرید	عذر اہل نیاز سبزیرید
نقش بند بنای این نہ خم	نغور گفت لایو اخذ کم
صم برنجید و صم برنجانید	از من خستہ رخ بگردانید 1

One who is familiar with Ghālib's craftsmanship and the high artistic excellence that he generally maintains, can easily notice the undeveloped form of these verses except the last one, and that too, had to be sacrificed for its logical connection with the preceding verses. Again we find the following verse having been dropped out

سحر سازان باستانی را سعدی و طالب و فغانی را

This verse has no defect, *prima-facie*, but Ghālib probably cut it down because a factually more important verse immediately followed it.

خاصہ روح و روان معنی را آن طہوی جہان معنی را

1. Bād-i-Mukhālif Ki Awwalīn Rawāit, Islāmīc Research Institute, Miscellany Vol.1.

The second verse being in the same rhyme and refrain would have created a technical defect in the *maghāwī* if it was preceded by the first one. Apart from these verses, there are a number of minor changes in words which, of course, Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd has very carefully noted down and which speak of an artistic improvement.

I now come to the second point made out by Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd, namely, attributing a personal motive on the part of Ghālib in changing the text. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd finds the enlogic verses of the current form¹ to be openly derogatory while those of the earlier form as merely ironical. I submit that a comparison of the two reveals the position as just the reverse and that the following verses discovered by Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd are far more disparaging and bitter than those substituted later.

نخل بند حدیقہٗ	پادشاہ سلیقہٗ
بشنومندی از خیال دلفیق	موشکاف غوامص تحقیق
چہ نزاکت کہ در نکات لیت	رگ گل لیقہٗ دوات ولایت
لفظش آئینہٗ ادای خیال	منیش شاصدیری تمثال
نفرش آئینہٗ صفای وحید	لفظش آصنک بریط ناپید
قلمش نونال گلشن راز	رقمش سبزہٗ حدیقہٗ ناز
بر بساط سخنوری نامی	در سخن ہم پیالہٗ جامی
چون ہی گفتگو بکاس کند	ز هر در جام بو نواس کند
لکلامش نیاز حسان را	هم ز بانیش فخر سبحان را
بدرش انوری و خاتانی	آن بدرویزہٗ این بدر بانی
بوجود چنین شگرف بیان	رشد دارد عجم ہندستان

Students of Persian literature know that Qatīl never deserved this tribute and I am unable to follow Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd's

1. See the verses on page 23.

proposition that the intellectuals, about a hundred years ago, considered these verses, especially in the background of a bitter controversy, to be a solemn praise, as the audience of Anwarī and Khāqānī did.

It will not, therefore, be proper to call the maṣnawī 'Bād-i-Mukhālīf', in its either form, an apology when so much scorn and irony pervades it throughout. The misunderstanding must also be removed in order to help make a proper assessment of the poem, for its intrinsic quality is marred by attributing a different motive to it. The maṣnawī should not be treated as a statement in a court of law where one might take Ghālib by his words. Its modesty and self-condemnation is only a part of oriental mannerism and nothing more. As a matter of fact, the maṣnawī has been discreetly designed to expose the ignorance and rudeness of Ghālib's critics. Ghālib praises Qatīl only to confound his followers and gives quite a different impression to the reader who easily understands the underlying meaning of the praise. The whole maṣnawī appears to be an out-burst of a mind that wanted to assert itself as the unrivalled monarch of Persian poetry in India. The same strong and unbending Ghālib is there. He has not submitted. The objections raised by the followers of Qatīl, whether right or wrong, were an open challenge to Ghālib's supremacy in Persian learning and his command over the poetry of that language. He felt extremely offended and hence hurled a strong attack against the rebels through the trenchant satire of this maṣnawī.

Ghālib stayed for about a year in Lucknow on his way to Calcutta. Naṣīrud-Dīn-Haider was the ruler of Awadh at that time. The intellectuals of Lucknow gave Ghālib a cordial welcome and a reception was proposed in his honour at the residence of ~~Ras~~hanud-Dawla, the chief minister. It did not, however, materialise for certain pre-conditions laid down by Ghālib. On his return from Calcutta, Ghālib despatched a qaṣīda to Naṣīrud-Dīn Haider, who, in return, ordered rupees five thousand to be paid to Ghālib. Unfortunately, this amount was misappropriated by ~~Ras~~hanud-Dawla and the poet did not receive a single penny out of it. Later on, Nawāb Wājid 'Alī Shāh sanctioned rupees five hundred yearly for him but soon after the Nawāb was deposed and Ghālib was again deprived of the royal aid.

In the meantime, Ghālib's reputation as a great Persian scholar had spread all over the country and he was offered Professorship of Persian at the Delhī College in 1842. But unfortunately, when Ghālib went to meet the employer, the latter did not come out to receive him. Ghālib took it to be an insult and returned home without an interview. The year 1847 brought in its wake a very unfortunate event for Ghālib. He was arrested on the charge of gambling and was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. two hundred to boot. His friends did everything possible to retrieve his lot and the Emperor personal intervened in the matter, but the conviction order could not be set aside. Other restrictions were, however, relaxed and his friends were allowed to visit him freely. Nawāb Muṣṭafā Khān Shifṭā was very helpful during the days of imprisonment and he personally went

to see Ghalib on many occasions. In spite of all these relaxations the conviction had an adverse effect on Ghālib's nerves. We can very well visualise its reaction on a man of Ghālib's temperament who was an aristocrat by birth and laid emphasis over his noble birth so very often in his writings. Letters written during this period speak of his deep disgust with life. This event, however, sad and heart-rending though it was, impelled Ghālib to compose one of his finest poems in the Persian language. The poem in question was left over from inclusion in the *Kulliyāt* by sheer over-sight, but was subsequently incorporated in 'Sabad-i-Chīn' by Ghālib himself. It speaks of Ghālib's feelings on the life of imprisonment. The alchemy of genius has transmuted personal experience of deep agony and humiliation into a great work of art. Unlike the general trend of his poetry, this poem is subjective and embodies the poet's expression of strong personal grief. A man of defiant and stubborn nature as he was, Ghālib seldom allowed his real dejection to appear in poetry. He has correctly described his nature elsewhere in the following verse

بجزدی نکلده خسته ام چون سنگ در آب هجم ریزش غمهای سخت و تلب رفتی 1

Even in the face of the worst circumstances, he kept up a smiling face and laughed his miseries away. Based as the poem is on the worst misfortune that ever befell Ghālib, its study is of special interest to us as it reveals how a brave and strong mind has reacted to the incident. Ghālib was, after all, a man susceptible to the shocks of misfortune and this poem is an out-burst of his inner feelings. His humour, so characteristic of him in adversity, has failed him in this agony, giving way to a

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nazm* p. 480.

deep satire. His pride of noble descent and excellent poetry was razed to dust. He lay in the prison cell, crushed and humiliated, surrounded by the culprits and savages, brooding over the reward that he received from the world for his immortal literary services. Yet he did not bend, and by keeping his head high in the worst crisis of his life he saved the prestige of the creative art itself. The unbending spirit pervading the following verses is worth mentioning:

بهره اهل جهان چون جهان درد و غم است بهره من جهان بیشتر آمد گوی
 ختن و ستن من حدّ عس و نیت برو بر من اینها ز قضا و قدر آمد گوی
 هنرم را نتوان کرد بخشن ضایع خستگی غار ز روی هنر آمد گوی¹

Ghālīb entered the royal service in 1850. It was his age old dream but for one reason or the other, he had failed to win the royal approbation upto a certain time. Quite a good number of qasīdās written in praise of Bahādūr Shāh bears evidence to the fact that the king was not quite happy with Ghālīb and hence, gave him little encouragement. This coldness in the King's behaviour has been generally attributed to the influence of Zawq over the king. Zawq was the Poet-laureate as well as the king's teacher and he maintained an inimical attitude towards Ghālīb all over his life. Moreover, the king had other reasons, too, for not having developed cordial relations with Ghālīb. Allusion may here be made to qasīda no. 13 of Ghālīb's Kulliyāt written in praise of Akbar Shāh II and prince Salīm, bearing the following verse

زهی مناسبت طبع شاهزاده سلیم بفضیلت تربیت پادشاه صفت اقلیم²

1. Sabad-i-Chīn p. 26, 27.
 2. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 214.

Shaikh Muhammad Ekrām has pointed out that Bahādur Shāh's estrangement from Ghālib might have been due to this qaṣīda which hails his brother prince Salīm, as heir-apparent to the throne, and neglects him altogether.¹ Now when Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, Ghālib tried to make amends by welcoming him (qaṣīda no. 14 of the Kulliyāt)

مندانزه نوبهار بهادرشهی بدهر چون نوبهار نازگی از سر گرفته ایم 2

He further lavishes eulogia on the king in exaggerated terms and yearns to win his favour, inviting his attention to his beautiful art:

خوشید منتظران نظری کماندین شمار لعل و گداز برشته گوهر کیشیه ایم

Another qaṣīda (no. 15 of the Kulliyāt) is yet another desperate appeal to the ruling monarch to recognize the poet's merit and invite him to the royal court. It is really pitiful to note that a poet who considered himself superior to Nazīrī and was, indeed, in no way inferior to him, was compelled to live in utter penury, while the same court that rewarded Nazīrī, 'Urfī and Kalīm etc., patronized much lesser poets like Zawq. It was this sense of injury that provoked Ghālib to emphasise his greatness again and again. We cannot take his utterances as boastful declarations of a mediocre poet. These are in fact the out-pourings of a great though injured personality in the melodious form of poetry:

بارگه نرسیم خانه سپهر خراب	ندیم شنه نشوم روی روزگار سیاه
ز شاه بهره من سوختن بدایع فراق	ز دهر حاصل من زینین مجال تباہ
چه دل نهم بگر با سخی سخن چو مرا	بهرم خسرو گیتی ستان نباشد راه

1. Ghālibnāma p. 89

2. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 217

پنجمم کم منگر گر چه خاک راه تو ام که آبروی دیارم درین خلعت گاه
 سخن ز نکتہ سرا یان اکبری چه کنی چون من بخوبی عمد تو ام ز خویش گواه
 کنون تو شاهی و من مدح گوئی تو لال گزشت دور نظیری و عمد اکبر شاه
 بغیر شتر چه نسبت بمن نظیری را نظیر خود بسخن هم منم سخن کوتاه 1

Qaṣīda no. 16 openly refers to the king's displeasure and regrets it.

2 ز دلیف شمر از ان کردم اختیار گره که از منست بر ابروی شمع یار گره

But all these moving appeals fell on deaf ears and in qaṣīda no. 17 at last, we find, the Turkoman of Central Asia is awakened in Ghālib. While praising the king, he addresses himself to the real enemy and lashes out, though indirectly, but with great force, at Zawq.

باله بخویش خواجه چو گوی سخنورش غافل که این ترانه به بهتان برابر است
 فی هر ترانه سنج نکیسا نوا بود فی هر سخن سرای به سحابان برابر است
 فی هر شتر سوار به صالح بود همال فی هر شبان بجوی عمران برابر است
 فی هر که گنج یافت ز پرویز گوی برد فی هر که بارغ ساخت بر ضوان برابر است
 گیرم که هر گیا برد از ابرو باد فیض خرمهره کی بسنبل و ریحان برابر است

Mark the proud tone of the admonition that must have unnerved the pretentious enemy.

امروز من نظامی و خاتمانیم بدهر دهلی زن بگنج و شردان برابر است
 سلجوقیم بگوهر و خاتمانیم بغیر توفیق من بسحر و خاتمان برابر است 3

One more factor, responsible for the king's indifference to Ghālib seems to be the former's taste for pure, simple and spoken Urdū that was being made use of by Zawq. Zawq was highly

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 219.
 2. Ibid p. 220.
 3. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 224.

classical in temperament and so was his royal pupil. Both of them believed in 'what oft was thought but never so well expressed' a dictum put forward by Pope, the high priest of the neo-classical age of English literature. Zawq had a marvellous capacity for catching common place objects and versifying them in a proverbial style. This amused the king much more than Ghālib's deep metaphysical poetry. It had the stamp of the 'high seriousness' that does not generally appeal to kings and pleasure-seeking people. That is one reason why his discontent vis-a-vis the imperial attitude lingered on even though he got the assignment of writing the history of the House of Timūr¹ and was financially rewarded for the same. Addressing Bahādur Shāh in the preface to Mehr-i-Nimrūz he writes:-

اگر چنانکه بدوران توام بروزگار فرزانه جشید بودی جشید روزگار را آفرین گشتی
 و اگر بد انسان که شناخوان شمر یارم فرخ فریدون را ستودمی فریدون چرخ و ستاره
 را گرد سرگشتی - دران انجمن که زردشت آتش افروخت و زند آورد اگر من بدین دم آفرین
 جا داشتی آذر از بیم من زبان نیزی و از دلفریبی بیان من کس بشنیدن زند نبرد اختی
 من بدین فرخی بخت که چون تو خداوند کار فرمای دارم هر قدر بر خویشتن نیازم جاداد
 سرت کردم تو نیز بدین گرمی همگامه نیاز که همچو غالب بنده آتشین نوای داری - اگر
 با ندازه هنر داد التفات میدی جای مردمک دیده بمن باز گزار و در دل بروی من
 بکشی - گویند در عهد جهانی حضرت صاحبقران ثانی فرمان آن خسرو در یاد کلیم
 را صدره لبیم وز دهل و لعل و لکر سخته اند من آن خواهم که دیده و ران را دستوری دهی
 تا از کشتش و کوشش نرنجند و یکبار گفتار مرا با کلام کلیم بسنجند ۲

"Had I been in the excellent age of Jamshīd, as I am in your times, Jamshīd would have applauded the age and had I praised

-
1. Ghālib had planned to write the history in two parts. The first part, dealing upto the period of Humāyūn was completed and was entitled as Mehr-i-Nimrūz. The second part entitled Māh-i-Nīm Māh relating to the period between Humāyun and Bahādur Shāh Zafar was, however, never written.
 2. Kulliyāt-i-Naṣr p. 269.

Farīdun, the fortunate, in the manner I praise your Majesty, Farīdun would have soared high up to the skies and the stars. If I were present with my fiery breath, in the assembly where Zoroaster kindled fire and brought forth Zand, fire would not have flared up due to fear of me and nobody would have listened to the recitation of Zand because of my charming discourse. For me, any amount of pride that I feel, is justified on the good luck of having a lord and master like your majesty. May I be sacrificed for you; you should also feel proud of this warm entertainment, that you have an eloquent slave like Ghālib. If you desire to pay attention in consonance with the talent, set the pupils of your eyes on me and open the door of your heart before me. They say that in the reign of the Lord of the auspicious conjunction the 2nd, Kalīm was weighed on the order of the same large-hearted monarch, against silver, gold, rubies and jewels a hundred times. I only desire that you allow the discerning ones not to feel offended by traction and trial and weigh my compositions against those of Kalīm only once".

Any way, after a pretty long time Ghālib succeeded in getting a job at the Red Fort through the good offices of Mawlānā Naṣīrud-Dīn, alias, Miān Kale Ṣāḥeb and Ḥakīm Eḥsanullāh Khān. He was appointed on a salary of Rs. 50/- per month and assigned to write the history of the House of Tīmūr. The title of Najmud-Dawla Dabīrul-Mulk, Nizāmī-Jang was also conferred on him on the same occasion. A few years later, that is in 1854, when Zawq died, Ghālib became the teacher of Bahādur Shāh Zafar

as well as of Mirzā Fakhrū, the heir-apparent to the throne. Financially, this period was auspicious for Ghālib for he was receiving money from the king, Mirzā Fakhrū and Nawāb Wājid 'Alī Shāh of Awadh simultaneously. But unfortunately, this period proved to be rather short-lived, as Mirzā Fakhrū died in 1856 and Bahādur Shāh and Wājid 'Alī Shāh were deposed and banished, with the result that Ghālib was again left without any source of income. The out-break of the first War of Independence further added to his financial worries, as his pension also stopped on account of the disturbances. Life all over the country was paralysed and Delhī was the worst sufferer. Ghālib was living at Ballī Mārān at that time. This locality was, fortunately, guarded by the soldiers of the Mahārāja of Patiala and Ghālib remained mostly confined to his house during the reign of terror. His expenses during this period were borne by his Hindū friends especially by Munshī Har Gopāl Tafta. Nawāb Ziaud-Dīn Ahmad Khān also, in view of Ghālib's financial crises, sanctioned Rs. 50/- per month to the latter's wife, Umrao Begam, which she received till her death.

Ghālib's book 'Qāṭe'-i-Burhān' is a production of this period. He used to read 'Burhān-i-Qāṭe', the famous lexicon by Mawlawī Muḥammad Husain of Deccan, to while away his time during the disturbances and in the course of reading, he underlined and corrected many errors of this book which he later collected and published under the title of Qāṭe'-i-Burhān in

1862. Authorities like Hāfiz Maḥmūd Shīrānī¹ and Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd do not have a favourable opinion regarding this book. Asad 'Alī Anwarī's book 'Qatīl Awr Ghālib' is also related to the same subject and openly accuses Ghālib of victimising Qatīl and other Persian scholars of India. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd has written a lengthy article² on its drawbacks and shortcomings which supplies us with a wealth of information about the whole affair. In fact, Ghālib was always harsh and unfair to the Persian writers and scholars of Indian origin and was willing to recognize none except himself as an authority. We have already noticed the trouble that he created for himself in Calcutta on account of the same attitude. This time the spark again flared up and he took upon himself the correction and criticism of a lexicon of established reputation. In fairness to Ghālib, we must admit that his Qāṭe'-i-Burhān is a negative work based on a desire to show off at the cost of other sincere scholars. The compilation of this book was bound to create great resentment among the people. Consequently, four books were written against Ghālib's Qāṭe'-i-Burhān, some of them full of harsh and indecent remarks against Ghālib. The books are as follows:-

1. Muḥarrir-i-Qāṭe'-i-Burhān by Munshī Syed Sa'adat 'Alī.
2. Sāṭe'-i-Burhān by Mawlawī Rahīm Bakhsh of Sardhana.
3. Mu'aid-i-Burhān by Mawlawī Ahmad 'Alī Ahmad of Calcutta.
4. Qāṭe'-ul-Qāṭe' by Mawlawī Amīn-ud-Dīn Amīn of Patiala.

1. 'Aligarh Magazine p. 130 . Extract from Maḥmūd Shīrānī's unpublished letter.

2. Naqd-i-Ghālib p. 345.

Ghālīb and his followers also retaliated by writing a number of booklets and pamphlets that have been examined in detail by good many writers. For a fuller knowledge of the literature produced following the publication of *Qāṭé-i-Burhān*, the reader might refer himself to articles written by 'Abdul Majīd Sālik, Mawlawī Mahesh Prashād and Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd, published in 'Alīgarh Magazine Ghālīb Number of 1948-49.¹ Ghālīb brought a defamation suit also against one of his critics but he had to withdraw it later. 'Burhān-i-Qāṭé' was further enlarged and published in 1866 under the title of 'Dīrafsh-i-Kawīānī'.

Ghālīb was advised by Mawlānā Fazl-i-Haq Khairābādī to get in contact with the state of Rāmpūr, by writing a *qasīda* in praise of Nawāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, the ruler. Ghālīb acted accordingly and the Nawāb was pleased to appoint him his teacher in the art of versification and gave him financial help occasionally. Later on, the Nawāb sanctioned a monthly grant of Rs. 100/- which Ghālīb continued to receive till death. Ghālīb also used the good offices of the Nawāb for the restoration of his pension from the Government, as well as for improving his relations with the British officials who had grown suspicious about Ghālīb's sympathies with the fighters for freedom in 1857. Ghālīb also tried to become the Poet-laureate of Queen Victoria and requested for the publication of his book

1. Asad 'Alī Anwarī's book 'Qatīl Awr Ghālīb' also deals with the subject.

'Dastanbū' at Government expense, but the requests were not acceded to, although his pension was restored in May 1860. Ghālīb made two journeys to Rāmpūr, one at the invitation of Nawāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, in the beginning of 1860, and the other on the occasion of the Nawāb's death, in the autumn of 1865. Ghālīb had undertaken the latter trip in the expectation that the new Nawāb would oblige him with a large amount on the occasion of his accession and thus he would be relieved of his age-old financial worries. The expectation did not materialize, and he returned to Delhī disappointed and exhausted by the tiresome journey.

Ghālīb was a patient of chronic constipation right from his early life. His youth was marked by over-indulgence when he neglected his health. His life-long addiction to drinks had an adverse effect on his health, more specially in the declining age. His already deteriorating health, therefore, broke down in 1866 when he returned from the tiresome journey of Rāmpūr. From this time onwards he remained mostly confined to bed. He developed deafness and his eye-sight also grew weak. But, in spite of this confinement, his literary activities did not cease. He exchanged letters with friends and disciples and made corrections in their ghazals. He died in Delhī on 15th February, 1869, after a prolonged illness.

CHAPTER III

HERITAGE

In tracing the influences at work in Ghālib's Persian poetry and the heritage that he got from the past, we shall have to recall the style in versification which originated with Fughānī in the Fifteenth century under the later Tīmūrids and was brought over to India by Bābar. It assumed a rather sophisticated form during the reign of the great Mughals and extended upto Deccan, taking into its orbit almost all the poets whether Indian or Irānian in origin. Abul Faḡl has given, in his "ĀIN-I-AKBARĪ", a long list of such poets that flourished at that time.¹ Prominent among them were 'Urfī, Nazīrī, Faizī and Zuhūrī who were the sponsors of a new school of poetry in India. The author of 'Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī', a contemporary biographer writing on 'Urfī, refers to this phenomenon:-

مخترع طرز تازه البتہ کہ الحال در میان مردم متبراست و مستعدان و سخن سنجان و فکرت شناسان پسندیدہ و
مقول دانستہ تشیع اومی نمایند - 2

"He is the inventor of a fresh style which, at present, is regarded as authentic among people, and capable persons, weighers of words and appreciators of subtilties think it to be praiseworthy and good and emulate his example."

Another reference by the same author throws some light on the nature of poetry that was practised by this school. It

1. Āin-i-Akbarī p. 168-183.

2. Maāṣir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. 3 p. 293.

refers to Faizī too, as 'Urfī's fellow poet and to Hakīm Abul Fateh as a patron of this poetry.

دستقدان و شعرسنان این زمان را اعتقاد آنست که تازه گویی که درین زمان دریا نشو و سخن است و شیخ فیضی
و مولانا عرفی شیرازی بآن روش حرف زده اند با اشاره و تعلیم ایشان (حکیم ابوالفتح) بوده - 1.

"And capable persons and assayers of verses of this age hold that the novelty in versification, which is laudable among poets in this age and Shaikh Faizī and Mawlānā 'Urfī Shīrāzī have composed verses on that line, is beholden to the hint and instruction of him (Hakīm Abul Fateh)".

Zuhūrī also claims this recognition by referring to the new style of his poetry in the following verse:-

زین مدح شهنشاه نور است این فیضی که طرز نوشته طبع سخن طراز را 2

Hence it can be inferred that novelty in versification 'Tāza gūī' was the main characteristic of this poetry. The poet must bring out some thing new whether he is singing the joys of union or bemoaning the pangs of separation. He should be able to confound his listeners with fanciful ideas and novel expressions. The tendency to hunt after quaint and uncommon ideas was further encouraged and patronized by the great nobles of the time like Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānan and Hakīm Abul Fateh. The latter's role has already been referred to. This naturally led the poets to compete among themselves for novel ideas in order to humour their patrons. The conceit engendered by novelty and the delicacies of thought, therefore, came to be regarded as more important than the expression of genuine feelings, which had only a secondary role to play. The simple emotions of the

earlier poets as reflected in the following verse of Sa'dī,

ای ساربان آهسته ران کارام جانم میرود - و آن دل را بخود داشتیم بادستانم میرود

or in Khusrāw,

رسیده باد صبا تازه کرد جان مرا - نفعته داد بمن بوی درستان مرا

or in Hāfiz,

صبا بلطف بگو آن غزال رعن را - کرکر کجوه و بیابان تو داده مارا

were now replaced by the soaring flights of imagination and complex ideas. A homely emotion expressed in direct and simple words was not enough to evoke applause now. Besides this change in taste, the inadequacy of a simple style to meet the growing needs of an ever-increasing sphere of imagination was also keenly felt by the poets. Hence 'Urfī says:-

1 زبان زلفت فرو ماند و راز من باقیست - بضاعه سخن آنم شد و سخن باقیست

Zuhūrī, too, has the same complaint to make:

از نگه چشمم نمی گشت و تماشا ماند است - در زبان حرف نماد است سخنها ماند است

The poets of this period, therefore, resorted to a new form of diction that was artificial and ornate. They tried to introduce new metaphors and imageries and made use of the various types of figures of speech. Zuhūrī, for instance, describes the rolling of his tears in the following manner:-

اشک سبک گام را پای دویدن دهم

Again, Faizī gives expression to his intense feeling of love in these words:-

عشق تا پای بیغشرد در اندیشه ما - صومعشوق ترادد ز رگ و ریشه ما

'Urfī's quaint way of praising a horse seems to surpass the

1. Dīwān-i-'Urfī p. 11.

2. Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī p. 113.

exaggeration of all the qasīda-writers of the past.

1

آن سبک سیر که گر گرم غناش سازی - از ازل سوی ابد دز ابد آید به ازل

Nazīrī depicts the beauty and charm of his beloved which is, at once, unique and fascinating:

2

ز فرق تا قدمش هر کجا که می گزیم - کرشمه دامن دل بکنند که جای اینهاست

This elaborateness gave birth to a new kind of lyricism that was more fanciful and less emotional in character. It abounds in the poetry of this period to a considerable extent and as such, can be declared to be its very hall-mark. One finds it not only in verses dealing with love but also pervading the metaphysical and philosophical ideas. It would, therefore, appear that novelty of expression and lyricism are the general features of this poetry. I now turn, for a closer analysis, to look into the substance of it.

The first thing that strikes the reader's mind is that the love of these poets is not as real and sincere as that of their predecessors. It does not seem to spring from the recesses of the heart, as we find in *Khusraw* and *Sādī*; it gives one an impression of having been forcefully cultivated. The pathetic notes of tender emotions are few and far between. Its scope has been widened for its several aspects are highlighted, with the result that a larger phase of the beloved's personality comes into play, e.g. we find a more detailed account of her assembly along with her attendants and suitors, the colour and form of her dress and the manner of her conversation. The intrigues of the rival candidates resulting in the sad plight of the lover have also been dealt with at length.

1. Qasaid-i-Urfī p. 54.

2. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 37.

The following verses will amply bear out the nature of this artificial but colourful love, that later came to be named as 'Mu'amila Bandī' in Urdū poetry.

Nazīrī:-

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | کرمی تر شد شود مکتوب من هم در میان پیدا | بغل از نامه اجاب پر کردونی خواند |
| 2 | هر کجا بیند گویند شش که فردا می رود | من نخواهم رفت آقا بر تسکین دلش |
| 3 | مردمت از دور بنمایند و گویم یار نیست | مردم از شرمندگی تا چند باهر ناکسی |

'Urfī:-

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 4 | لطف فرمودی برو کین بای را رفتار نیست | میردی با غیر و میگوئی بیا عری تو هم |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

Zuhūrī:-

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 5 | معنی لطف ازین لفظ بردن میآید | دوش گشتی که طهوری ز تو در قهرم من |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Tālib Āmulī:-

خود میکند غرام و خود از دست میرود	باصدر کشد آن بخت به دست میرود
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Sāib:-

جامه را فاخته ساخته یعنی چه	سر دین طرح خوانده یعنی چه
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Mystical ideas received a set-back, although poets frequently employed them as a conventional theme. It was an age of territorial conquests and material prosperity. The youthful Mughal empire was in its full bloom and the urges of flesh and blood dominated the minds. The intellectuals and writers refused to be bound down by traditional beliefs and questioned even the propriety of some of the principles of religion. Faizī and 'Urfī represent this attitude in them. The former was openly accused of being an atheist by Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī⁶, the famous

1. Ghazaliyat-i-Nazīrī p. 25.

2. Ibid p. 105.

3. Ibid p. 52.

4. Dīwān-i-'Urfī p. 30.

5. Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī p. 317.

6. Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh Vol. 2, p. 405, 406.

chronicler of the day. Some verses which exemplify free thinking are mentioned below.

Faizī:-

- 1 آنکه بکند مرا منع پرستیدن بت در حرم رفته طواف در دیوار چه کرد

‘Urfī:-

- 2 کفر و دین را برابر از یاد کر این فتنه گران در بد آموزی ما مصلحت اندیشی همد

- 3 کفران نعمت گله زندان بی ادب در کینش ز رشک گردایان خوشتر است

کافر تر است زاهد از مجنون و لیکن او را بت است در سر در آستین ندارد

The age embodies a spirit of hope, adventure and optimism, finding expression in proud demeanour and defiant out-bursts.

Addressing his Patron, ‘Urfī says:-

داد یک شعر ز عرفی بستان کین مغرور	که و نازش نه باز آید قدر است و محل
پر غرور و لیست که تا من در مدحت نردم	این گمان داشت که دورانش یاد و بدل
نیم خمین کن اگر گوید صد بیت بلند	که دماغش شده از عین طبیعت مختل
هر سر ویش اگر باز شکافی بسپرد	سویانیت که چیدست در ولایت و محل
بهر اصل و نسب خویش نویسد برون	هر چه خواند ز نسب نه ارباب دول
گوهر آهای روز است و نه دریا و نه کان	حکمت آموز عقول است و نه علم و نه محل
آب و ایات بلند است که از بعضی زاد	انتخاب است ز دیوان سخن بخش ازل
آنچه در است معانیت که بروی جویند	همه خورشید خود گریختند از محل
دارد از عزت اصل گهر و ذلت شعر	پای در تحت تری دست در آغوش محل

4

And Faizī describes his philosophy in a strong egotistical tone

ما را ز قدسیم زارانشناسیم	منم ملکوتیم هوا را نشناسیم
برهان نبوتیم ز مافقی نیاید	از ما نم آموزد که لا را نشناسیم
در کشف حقایق سبق آموزیم	ترتیب دلیل حکما را نشناسیم

1. Diwān-i-Faizī p. 71.

2. Diwān-i-‘Urfī p. 36.

3. Ibid. p. 10.

4. Qasaid-i-‘Urfī p. 54.

با اهل جدل نکته توحید نگوییم	در وحدت حق چون و چرا نشناسیم
اصحاب یقینیم گمان را نه پسندیم	ارباب صوابیم خطا را نشناسیم
از قافله ما نتوان یافت نشانی	رقص جرس و بانگ دراز نشناسیم
نور جبروتیم ز ظلمت نهضتیم	آینه صمیم مسارا نشناسیم
بر دانش ما انجم و افلاک بخندند	گر صاحب لولاه و لعلار نشناسیم

The optimism and youthfulness, so characteristic of the poetry of this period, lasted for about a century and poets like Ṭālib Āmulī, Sāib and Kalīm, with minor changes in the technique, followed the same line. Ṭālib Āmulī distinguished himself in the employment of fresh similes and metaphors and consequently, produced more appealing verses. Some are quoted here:-

لب از گفتن چنان بستم که گوی
دهن بر چهره زخمی بود و بر شد
دوب خواب خواهم کی در می پرستی
یکی در غدر خواصی های مستی
ز غارت چمن بر بار غنایست
که گل بدست تو از شاخ تازه تر ماند

Similarly Sāib adopted the allegorical style that reached its perfection at his hands. Here is an example:-

مطلب برسد جویای کام آهسته آهسته
ز دریا میکشد صیاد دام آهسته آهسته

Kalīm's main contribution lies in refining the ghazal. He chiselled it with his remarkable craftsmanship leaving no room for further development in the school of Fughānī. This culminated in a radical change in style that was brought about by Bedil in the Ālamgīrī era. Bedil and his contemporaries, in fact, faced a poetical crisis, for the store-house of artificial devices and novel expressions had been exhausted by their time. It was due to this crisis that

1. Shīrul 'Ājam p. 54

2. M.A. Library, University No. 133, Fārsiā, 1. Diwān-i-Ṭālib Āmulī

3. Kulliyāt-i-Sāib p. 663

Bedil once remarked to Nāṣir 'Alī, a contemporary poet, that good verse is meaningless.

شعر خوب معنی ندارد

What he actually meant was this that most of the poetical ideas had already been captured by the earlier poets and hence their repetition was stale. Bedil and his followers, therefore, managed to overcome this situation in a very ingenious way. They gave a twist to the thought and started writing verses that might be compared, because of their vagueness, to the modern paintings. Bedil, in particular, managed to produce suggestiveness by using difficult phraseology, embodying vague metaphysical ideas. His poetry is also surcharged with mysticism and philosophical speculations and marks the end of the youthful spirit of the early Mughal poets. With him Persian poetry enters into a thoughtful and serious phase that has a dominant note of pessimism. Listen to his voice, and you will be convinced of the radical change in the out-look. It will land you in a grim world and you will be forced to think with Bedil,

چنین گفته‌ام که بیستم من که چون آتش از سوختن زبستم من
نه شام نه بخون نه گردون نه خاکم نه نظم نه مضمون نه محبت من
اگر فایم چیست این خود هستی اگر باقیم از چه فایستم من
بنازای تخیل سب الای تو هم که هستی گمان دارم نویستم من

1

It was due to this serious temperament that Bedil was unable to get solace from physical love. He was much too thoughtful to be satisfied with the beloved's company. Hence the all-pervading note

1. Bedil pp.297, 298, 299.

of discontent in his poetry

محمد عمر بنو قدح زديم و نرفت پنج خار ما چر قياضى ز نوى ر سى ز كنار ما بگش را

Bedil was essentially a philosopher-poet and in his enthusiasm for expressing his ideas, he often distorted the language. His verses are sometimes highly condensed and we have to read too much between the lines to understand him. His lengthy constructions and far-fetched phrases earned him a bad name and since he was an Indian by birth, his diction came to be condemned as "Khārijī Āhang" by literary critics.¹

Ghālib based his art on this heritage that he received from the Mughal period and accordingly his poetry, especially his ghazals have all the characteristics of the Mughal poetry that have been discussed and enumerated in the preceding pages. They have the same fanciful lyricism, novelty of expression and skill and elaborateness which marked the ghazals of the Mughal age. They are equally devoid of real and heart-felt emotions. Being nourished by artificial feelings, they lack the intensity and sincerity of true love that was found in the early masters' compositions and was even more recently exhibited in Mīr's Urdū ghazals. But the, urge for flesh and blood in Ghālib, his liberal out-look, his stamina, defiance and proud behaviour could all be traced back to the same heritage. This does not, however, mean that Ghālib was merely an imitator of Mughal poets and that he had no contribution of his own to make. Ghālib was a versatile genius and his poetry is a treasure-house of many experiences, rich, wide and manifold. We find a number of currents and cross-currents of Indian and Īrānian origin converging together on the broad

1. Bedil p. 130.

canvass of his poetry and transforming themselves into a higher form. He seems to have availed himself of the wisdom and craftsmanship of almost all the great poets of the Persian language but allowing none of them to over-power his mind. His poetry is, therefore, an admixture of divergent ideas, to which his rich and powerful mind has given a uniform shape. That is why, while referring to the heritage that he received from his predecessors, he does not fail to point out the hidden reservoir of his own genius. Writing in his preface to the 'Kulliyāt-i-Naẓmī Fārsī', he says:-

باز بسین چراغیت از گری چراغان نیم سوخته پیلو ریخ یا فروغن داده یعنی داغ ضلعت خست نادیده کهن داغهای
 1. جنون است سرار بشوخی نفس خراشیده گرما گرم خوابه دروخت بر لب پنهانی دل ناگه از ناسور تراویده -

"This is the last candle, kindled up by the heat of half-burnt candles. That is to say, it is not indebted to straw. These are old scars of frenzy scratched exclusively by the petulance of spirit. This is warm blood from inside that has dropped suddenly from the incurable wound because of the hidden flame of the heart."

Again, he tries to distinguish himself from his predecessors in the following words:-

هر آئینه رفتگان سرخوش غمخواره اند و من خرابستم پیشینیان چراغان بوده اند و من آفتابم 2

"Undoubtedly, the departed ones are tipsy in repose and I am drunk. The predecessors were candles and I am the sun".

Ghālīb was a learned man of his time and as such it was unlike him, as a poet, to get confined to a particular writer however great he might have been. He had read Naẓīrī,

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 2

2. Ibid p. 6

Zuhūrī, 'Urfī, Ṭālib Āmulī, Jalāl Asīr, Ṣāib, Ḥazīn and Bedil with special interest as they were his immediate fore-runners. He has referred to them as his god-fathers in the famous maṣnawī 'Bād-i-Mukhālīf'.¹ His letters and ghazals also contain glowing tributes to these poets but he was not their blind follower. He kept them in mind only as authorities on language² and in this respect too, depended mostly on his own judgement. Writing to his beloved disciple, Har Gopāl Tafta he says:-

ہم کو اپنی تہذیب سے کام ہے اغلاط میں سند کیوں ڈھونڈتے پھریں ہری جان ایسے موقعوں پر یہ چاہئے کہ
بزرگوں کے کلام کو ہم مورد اعتراض نہ کریں اور خود اسکی پیروی نہ کریں غیر گوارا نہیں رکھئے کالج الجمع کو اور برا نہ کہیں حضرت صاحب کو 3

"We are concerned with our own correction. Why should we go on hunting for authorities to justify mistakes. My dear, such occasions demand that we should not find faults with the writings of great men and do not ourselves follow them. This humble servant will neither approve plural of plural nor speak ill of his lordship Ṣāib".

Again we have a defying statement by him addressed to the same disciple

حزین کے اس مطلع میں واقعی ایک "صنوز" زائد اور بیہودہ ہے نتیج کے واسطے سند نہیں ہو سکتا یہ غلط محض ہے یہ قسم ہے
یہ عیب ہے اسکی کون پیروی کرے گا حزین تو آدمی تھا یہ مطلع اگر جبرئیل کا ہو تو اسکی سند نہ جانو اور اسکی پیروی نہ کرو 4.

"In this opening verse of Ḥazīn, one 'Hanūz' is really superfluous and absurd. It can not be taken as authority for emulation. This is entirely wrong, a blemish and a defect. Who will emulate it?

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 101
2. Khutūṭ-i-Ghālīb p. 480
3. Ibid p. 126
4. Ibid p. 139

Hazīn was after-all a man if this opening verse had been even from Gabriel, do not take it as an authority and do not follow it."

But in spite of his independent nature, Ghālib had to follow the style that was current at the time when his poetic career began. The early nineteenth century that mainly forms the period of Ghālib's intellectual development had two main schools in Persian poetry, one which belonged to 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. and the other was evolved by Bedil and his followers. Both the schools have already been broadly discussed in the preceding pages. Ghālib chose the latter school but later on, realizing its shortcomings, shifted over to the style of 'Urfī and Nazīrī.¹ Ghālib himself bears testimony to this fact in a letter to 'Abdur Razzāq Shākīr. He writes:-

قبلہ ابتدا سے تقریباً بیس برس کے طرز پر ریختہ لکھتا تھا چنانچہ ایک غزل کا مطلع ہے
 طرزِ بدیل میں ریختہ لکھتے اسد اللہ خان قیامت ہے
 پندرہ برس کی عمر سے بیس برس کی عمر تک مضامین خیالی لکھا کیا دس برس میں بڑا دیوان جمع ہو گیا آخر جب تیراؤں
 نو اس دیوان کو دور کیا 2

'Sir, in the beginning of my poetry, I wrote Urdū after the fashion of Bedil, Asīr and Shawkat. Hence the opening verse of a ghazal is as follows:-

'O Asadullāh Khān, it is very difficult to write Urdū after the fashion of Bedil'.

From fifteen to twentyfive years of age I composed fantastic themes. A big collection was prepared within ten years. At last, when maturity came I dropped that collection".

1. Yādgar-i-Ghālib p. 385.

2. Khutūt-i-Ghālib p. 532.

Let us then presume that Ghālib composed poetry in Bedil's style upto the age of twentyfive years but subsequently relinquished it. That is to say Ghālib had given up Bedil's style by the time he started writing Persian poetry, because its period comes definitely after he had reached the age of twenty-five years.¹ This presumption is further strengthened when we find Ghālib's Persian ghazals much simpler, and therefore not in Bedil's style, than those found in the Urdū collection (Bhopāl copy). It is, therefore, quite natural to suppose that in the beginning Ghālib's progress as an Urdū poet was retarded by what has been called as the baneful influence of Bedil but later on, he managed to escape it. How this escape was possible and what were the forces that impelled Ghālib to come out of this dungeon, we have again Ghālib's own words to explain:-

هر چند منش کز دانی سر ووش است در کافاز نیز بسنده گوی و گزیده جوی بود اما پیشتر از فراخ روی
بی جاده نشناسان برداشتی و کنزی رفار آنان را انزوش مستند انگاشتی - تا همدان نگاپوشش خلمان
را بخشگی ارزشش همدی که در من یافتند مهر بخنید و دل از آرم بدد کند اندوه آوارگیست بی من خوردند
و آموزگارانه در من نگریستند - شیخ علی حنین بجنه زیر لبی براه رویهای مرا در نظم جمله گرفتار داشت
وزهر گناه طالب آملی و برق چشم عرفی شیرازی ماده آن هرزه جنبشهای ناروا در
پای ره بجای من بسوخت - غموری بسر گری گریانی نفس هرزی بازوی و توشه بکرم بست
و نظیری لا ابالی خرام بنجار خاصه خودم بچالش آورد اکنون همین فزه پرورشش آموختی این گروه
فرشته شکوه کلک رفاص من بخراشش تدواست و برامش میستاید بجلوه طاوس است و بر پرواز غفا 2

"Although genius which is a divine angel, was in the beginning too, a select-speaker and seeker of the laudable, but formerly, due to extravagance it watched the steps of those who did not even

1. Ghālibnāma p. 210, Ālīgarh Magazine p. 107.

2. Kulliyāt-i-Naṣr p. 68.

understand the path and regarded their crooked walking to be the intoxicated stumble. Till in that running about, the fore-runners discovering the worth of my companionship were moved to compassion over my fatigue and their hearts pained out of love. They felt sorry over my wanderings and looked upon me as teacher. Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn, with his incipient smile, exposed my deviations before my eyes and the poison of the glances of Tālib Āmulī and the lightening of the eyes of 'Urfī Shīrāzī burnt the matter of frivolous and inadmissible movements that marked my path-treading foot. Zuhūrī with his all engrossing attention fastened an amulet on my arm and tied up provisions with my waistband Nazīrī, the reckless walker, made me walk after his own typical style. Now due to the felicity and magnificence of the spiritual teaching of this group, having angelic pomp, my dancing pen is a partridge in walking, 'ā musīqār' in singing, a peacock in lustre and a phoenix in flight."

This statement of Ghālib leads us to think that he followed the line of 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. after deserting Bedil and accordingly it has been deduced by some of his critics that the source of his great poetry lay in the early Mughal poets whom he has mentioned as his reformers. This conclusion, although drawn from Ghālib's own statement does not, however, bear the whole truth. It is further disproved by his poetry which does not conform to these conclusions. It echoes Bedil again and again and bears his stamp even on the ghazals that were composed towards the end of his life. Comparison of a few verses of both

the poets will bear this out sufficiently.

Bedil

Ghālib

- تاکی زخلق پرده برد اگلی چو خضر
2. مردن بہ از بحالت بسیار زیستن
در جنتی کہ وعدہ نعمت شنیدہ
4. آدم کجاست اگر سکاںش احمقند
گویند بہشت است همان رات جاوید
5. جای کہ بدافعی نہ تپد دل چہ مقام است

- وہ زندہ ہم ہیں کہ ہیں روشناس خلق ای خضر
1. زم کہ جور بنے عمر جاودان کے لئے
گرویدن ز اصدان بخت گستاخ
دین دست درازی بہ تر شاخ بشاخ
چون نیک نظر کنی ز روی تشبہ
3. ماند بہ بہایم و علف زار فراخ

The idea of Bedil's last-mentioned verse has been developed by Ghālib in his maṣnawī 'Abr-i-Guharbār'. Referring to Paradise he says

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| چہ گنجائی نورش ناو نوش | دران پاک میخانہ بی خروش |
| خزان چون نباشد باران کجا | سیہستی ابرو باران کجا |
| غم ہجر و ذوق وصالش کجہ | اگر حور در دل خیالش کجہ |
| چہ لذت دہد و صلی انتظار | چہ منت نہد ناشناسانگار |

It will, therefore, not be correct to assume that Ghālib rejected Bedil in favour of 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. What he actually did was that he renounced Bedil's diction in poetry that was tortuous and indianized and set before himself as a model, the diction and style of 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. who were pure Irāniens. It is to be noted that Ghālib's subsequent objections to Bedil are directed against his language only. Being an Indian by birth, Bedil was rather unacceptable to Ghālib as an authority on the Persian language. Ghālib has, however, never decried him as a poet. Writing to Chawdhry Abdul Ghafūr, he remarks:-

نامر علی اور بیدل اور غنیمت ان کی فارسی کیا ہر ایک کا کلام بنظر انصاف دیکھئے ہاتھ لگن کو آرس کی کیا

1. Diwān-i-Ghālib Urdū (Arshī edition) p. 236

2. Bedil p. 322

3. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 547

4. Bedil p. 342

5. Diwān-i-Bedil p. 103

6. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 132

7. Khutūt-i-Ghālib p. 497

Again addressing himself to Tafta, he has openly ridiculed Bedil's Persian. He writes:-

وہ شعر کس واسطے کا آگیا۔ سمجھو پہلا مصرع لغو دوسرے مصرع میں بڑے کا فاعل معدوم حلقہ زار کی زبے پر نقطہ نہ تھا
میں نے غصہ میں لکھا کہ نہ حلقہ را درست نہ حلقہ زاد درست مگر یہ فارسی بیدلانہ ہے خیر رہنے دو 1.

Precisely speaking, Ghālib renounced Bedil's diction at the age of twentyfive years when he had practically assimilated the ideas and the spirit of his poetry in full. Psychology tells us that what a man learns in the prime of his youth gets embedded in mind. Ghālib too drank deep from Bedil in his early life when he was actually a poet in the making. How could we, therefore, presume that he dissociated himself abruptly from Bedil and transformed his personality altogether. Such a presumption can not be well-founded. Moreover, Ghālib has, in addition to the inheritance that he received from the early Mughal poets, a serious and thoughtful element in his poetry that reminds one of Bedil. It is wrapped up in complex imageries and metaphors that were coined only towards the beginning of the Eighteenth Century and can not, therefore, be attributed to a poet of the earlier times. Broadly speaking, then, we can conclude that Ghālib's mysticism—conventional, no doubt—his philosophical inquisitiveness and his humanism, they all have their source in Bedil.

Ghālib came in contact with the early Mughal poets at a later stage. As a matter of fact, this contact and his subsequent renunciation of Bedil's so-called vague style was a long process spreading over many years. His association with some of the

1. *Khutūt-i-Ghālib* p. 480.

learned men in Delhi also played an important part in bringing about the change. In addition to their learning, these persons were poets and had a well-developed literary taste. We can visualise the status of these people by the following reference in his ghazal by Ghālib.

ای که راندی سخن از کتک سرایان غم	چه با محنت بیاری از کم نشان
صد را خوش نماند سخنور کبود	باد در غوت نشان کشد نشان از دم نشان
موس و تیر و صبا و علوی و لنگاه	عرق اتشف و آزرده بود افغان نشان
غالب سوز جان گر چه نبرد بشمار	صفت در بیم سخن مخفص و هم نشان 1

These names include those who criticised Ghālib's poetry and gave him suggestions and advice.² One of Ghālib's very helpful friends was Mawlānā Fazl-i-Haq Khairābādī who advised Ghālib to drop a large portion of his Urdū poetry from his collection which the latter was then compiling for publication. Reference has been made in the second chapter to the Mawlānā's disapproval of the vague and meaningless poetry that Ghālib had produced on the lines of Bedil.³ The result was that Ghālib subsequently exercised restraint in his art and he had to struggle for several years to bring his thoughts down to earth. The poetry of the early Mughal period was characterised by simpler and more earthly ideas than the one Ghālib followed. Naturally enough, therefore, he turned to the poets of that age for help and guidance.⁴ These poets have been discussed in the beginning of the chapter. The

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm* p. 505.

2. *Yādgār-i-Ghālib* p. 179.

3. *Ibid* p. 102.

4. *Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓr* p. 68. See also page, 53.

name of Mirzā Jalāl Asīr may also be added to the list already adduced, as he wrote in the same style and his optimism and aesthetic touch are reflected in Ghālib's verses.¹ For our purpose it would suffice to make a comparison of Zuhūrī, 'Urfī and Nazīrī, the high priests of the early Mughal period—with Ghālib. I shall begin with quoting some verses of Ghālib that contain respectful references to Zuhūrī:-

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 2. | غالب از صباى اخلاق ظهورى سرخوشیم | پارهٔ پیشانیست از لقاى زار دارما |
| 3. | مار آمد ز فیض ظهوریت در سخن | چون جام باده را تبخوار غیم ما |
| 4. | بنظم و نثر مولانا ظهوری زنده ام غالب | رگستان کرده ام شیرازه اوراق کتابش را |
| 5. | ذوق فکر غالب را برده ز انجمن بیرون | با ظهوری و صائب محو هر بانیست |

While referring to his god-fathers in the maṣnawī 'Bād-i-Mukhālif,' Ghālib praises Zuhūrī much more than Tālib-i-Āmulī, 'Urfī or Nazīrī.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| دامن از کف کنیم چگونه رصا | طالب عرفی و نظیری را |
| خاصه روح و روان معنی را | آن ظهوری جهان معنی را |
| آنگاه از سر فرازی قلمش | آسمان ساست بر چرخ علمش |
| طرز اندیشه آفریدهٔ اوست | در تن لفظ جان دمیدهٔ اوست |
| پشت معنی قوی ز پهلویش | خامه را فریبی ز بازویش |
| طرز تحریر را نوی از وی | صفحه ارتنگ معنوی از وی |
- 6.

We come across a number of verses in Zuhūrī that bear a close resemblance with Ghālib's style and his attitude towards love. Some verses from Zuhūrī are given below that can be cited as

-
1. Ghālib by K. Islām p. 44.
 2. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 356.
 3. Ibid p. 365.
 4. Ibid p. 368.
 5. Ibid p. 389
 6. Ibid p. 101

precursors of Ghālib's poetry.

- بهر که درد ندارد بستان دوا بخشند
چه خوشتر است ز بخشش اگر بجا بخشند
هنوز غمت دشنام خود نمی دانند
مروت است یکی اگر بعد دوا بخشند
- 1.

بدر از آن شوخ محبوبی چه میکرد
بنازم شرم محبوی چه میکرد

اگر در باغ خود میداشت روضان
چنین شاخ گل طوبی چه میکرد

- اگر عقل از هوشمندی بهشت افت
نمی آید به محبوبی چه میکرد
- 2.

The following verses, again, abound in Ghālib's typical ecstasy and remind one of his passion for sensuous pleasure

- سال تو گشت بیاتائی بارینه کشم
خرمها چمنی ساخت در سینه کشم
زاهدان را هوس صحبت خلوت زده ره
صحبت شنیده مگر بر رخ آدینه کشم
شاهدی را که بر اطلال کشاید آغوش
ده چه ذوقیت که در خرقه پند کشم
- 3.

Finally one ghazal each from Zuhūrī and Ghālib is reproduced here to show the close affinity which Ghālib had with Zuhūrī.

The ghazals are not only in the same metrical form and refrain but also have a common note of strong lyricism. In fact, it is rather difficult to distinguish the style of one from the other

Zuhūrī

از دم نیستی مگر تن بپیدن دهم
سر نه جرت کشم دیده بدیدن دهم
از روش جلوه آه بر آه افکنم
در خلش غمزه خون بچکیدن دهم
بند نقابی کشم تیغ و رنج آورم
یوسف و یعقوب را کتب بدیدن دهم

Ghālib

سوخست جگر تا کجا رنج بچکیدن دهم
دلگس خواست خون گرم تا بپیدن دهم
عمره شوق ترا مشقت غباریم ما
تن جو بریزد زهم هم بپیدن دهم
جلوه غلط کرده اند رخ بکشتا تا ز مهر
درد و پرواز را خرد و دیدن دهم

1. *Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī* p. 295.

2. *Ibid* p. 318.

3. *Ibid* p. 508.

سبزه ما در عدم نشسته برق بلاست
 ذره سیل بهار شرح دیدن دهم
 بو که بختی زیم بر سر و دستار گل
 تائی گلخام را مزد رسیدن دهم
 بر اثر کوکل ناله فرساده ایم
 ناچکر سنگ را ذوق دریدن دهم
 شیوه تسلیم ما بوده تواضع طلب
 در خم محراب شیخ تن بختیدن دهم
 دامن از آلودگی سخت گران گشته است
 ده که در کرد ز پابه که بچیدن دهم
 خیز که راز درون در جگر فی دهم
 ناله خود را ز خویش داد شنیدن دهم
 غالب از ادراک ما نقش ظهوری مید
 سر و حیرت کشیم دیده بیدن دهم 2.

گوشته دامان آه ماند تیره کوه ضعف
 اشک سبک گام را پای دودن دهم
 گه چه ندارد کند کنگر ایوان وصل
 ناله کشنگر را تار رسیدن دهم
 بهر تماشای حسن و بهر ناصحن عشق
 فاخته عقل را بال پریدن دهم
 از خس و خوارگی حیب گلستان کنم
 برگ گل و لاله را نوک خلیدن دهم
 توبه پیر هیز را کرده شکستن درست
 محضر ناموس را زیب دریدن دهم
 آینه نزدیک لب حرف کسی در نیست
 گر بن هر موی را گوش شنیدن دهم 1.

So far Urfī and Nazīrī are concerned, Ghālib can be said to be their rightful successor in *qaṣīda* and *ghazal* respectively. He has all the qualities of these poets, adding to them the philosophical depth of Bedil and above all a charm of his own rich personality. Like them, he has a strong predilection for novel³ which keeps him off the beaten track. Ghālib's grand style in *qaṣīdas*, his impassioned lyrical out-bursts, his emotional ecstasies, and forceful expressions are all reminiscent of Urfī and Nazīrī. His *qaṣīdās* are resonant, musical and full of high spirit like those of Urfī whom he followed in this particular line. One notable feature of Urfī is this that his *qaṣīdās* spe

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1. *Diwān-i-Zuhūrī* p. 549.
 2. *Kulliyāt-i-Nazm* p. 495
 3. *Yadgār-i-Ghālib* p. 104.

Lastly we can refer to the following verse of Ghālib that smacks of his close affinity with 'Urfī.

1. کینیت عرفی طلب از طینت غالب جام دگران باده شیراز ندارد

Nazīrī was the most respected poet with Ghālib. He regarded Nazīrī as his master. We have a famous ghazal of Nazīrī with the following verse in it.

2. مرا بساده دلبهای من توان بخشید خطا نموده ام و چشم آفرین دارم

Ghālib too wrote a ghazal in the same form but with apologies, although the element of self-praise is still there:

3. جواب خواجہ نظری نوشتہ ام غالب خطا نموده ام و چشم آفرین دارم

Writing to Har Gopāl Tafta, in a dejected mood, he once remarked:

بوعلی سینا کے علم کو اور نظری کے شعر کو ضائع اور بے فائدہ اور موبہم جانتا ہوں زلیبت بسر کرنے کو کچھ تھوڑی سی

4. راحت درکار ہے اور باقی حکمت سلطنت اور شاعری اور سحری سب خرافات ہے

Though it is just a passing reference, but it is a significant one since it shows Nazīrī occupying the same place in poetry as was held by Avicenna in science. This may not be a correct assessment, but it is what Ghālib thought and indeed Nazīrī is regarded as the unrivalled master of ghazal in India. It was more or less due to this reason that Ghālib set Nazīrī before himself as a model of perfection and yearned to emulate his example. A close analysis of his ghazals shows that Ghālib succeeded in his attempt to a great extent. The distinguishing features of Nazīrī's ghazal that seem to have been assimilated by Ghālib are noted

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 446.

2. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 190.

3. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 499.

4. Khutūt-i-Ghālib p. 177.

below: -

1. Complexity of emotions
2. Conflict of the dual personality.
3. Psychological insight.

The following verses of the two poets will go to illustrate the common features

Ghālīb

1. دیکھنا قسمت کہ آپ اپنے پر رنک کجائے ہے
میں اُسے دیکھوں بھلا کب مجھ سے دیکھا جائے ہے
3. بلب خشکی چہ میری در سرالستان مذهب ہا
داغ دل ماسطہ فشان ماند پیر ح
5. این ستم غیب آخر شد و خاموشی نکردند
میں اور اک آفت کا کٹرا وہ دل وحشی کہ ہے
7. عافیت کا دشمن اور آوارگی کا آشنا
9. کھلتا کسی پکیوں مرے دل کا معاملہ
شعروں کے انتخاب نے رسوا کیا مجھ

Nazīrī

2. زرنک غیر کنون برگزشتہ کار مرا
لا ابلی خو و دریا بفرانی نشا ط
4. چند در تنگی مشرب کہ فراوانی نیست
فریاد ازین خوق کہ در جان نظیری
6. تامل و شش از زمرہ خاموشی نکردند
چہ خوسمت کین دل کافر نہاد من دارد
8. ہزار عریذہ با خاک و باد من دارد
راز دیرینہ زریخ پردہ بر انداخت دریلخ
10. حال ماسطہ بانثی غزل ساخت دریلخ

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1. Dīwān-i- Ghālīb, 'Arshī. edition p. 221.
 2. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 21.
 3. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 360.
 4. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 40.
 5. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 454.
 6. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 88.
 7. Dīwān-i-Ghālīb, Mālik Rām edition p. 76.
 8. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 97.
 9. Dīwān-i-Ghālīb, 'Arshī edition p. 206.
 10. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 170.

Ghālīb

Nazīrī

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>گر دم شرح ستمی عزیزان غالب
رسم امید حمانا ز جہان برخیزد</p> <p>بمخود بوقت فوج تپیدن گناہ من
دانستہ دشمن تیز ز گردن گناہ کیست</p> <p>باغ پاکر خفقانی یہ ڈراتا ہے مجھے
سایہ شاخ گل انصاف نظر آتا ہے مجھے</p> | <p>زیمیری یارانم ازین بہ یادگاری نیست
کہ مہر خویشتن را از ضمیر خویشتن بردم</p> <p>گرد سر تو گشتن و مردن گناہ من
دیدن صلاک و رحم نہ کردن گناہ کیست</p> <p>چنانم میگذرد اکنون تماشای چمن کردن
کہ شکل غنچہ برگین سسر مار است پنداری</p> |
|---|--|

We find a number of ghazals composed by Ghālīb and Nazīrī that have common metrical forms. It so appears that Ghālīb took up Nazīrī's ghazals, that were his favourites, one by one, and composed his own in the same form. In isolated cases, he might be said to have reached Nazīrī's level, nay, even surpassed him, but in most of the cases he seems to have failed to achieve Nazīrī's level. Then there are ghazals written under the spell of an emotional mood that bear close resemblance with Nazīrī's ghazals of identical character. Reference might be made to a somewhat misleading statement of Hālī regarding the influence of Nazīrī on Ghālīb at this stage.

7. مرزا کے اس بیان سے پایا جاتا ہے کہ وہ غزل میں خاص نظیری کی روش پر چلتے تھے مگر ان کی غزلیات کے دیکھنے سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ ان کی غزل میں نہ صرف نظیری بلکہ عرفی، ظہوری، غالب، املی، جلال، اسیر اور ان کے دیگر ضمیمین کی غزل کا رنگ عمل العموم پایا جاتا ہے البتہ اس لحاظ سے کہ تصوف کا عنصر مرزا کے کلام میں نظیری سے کچھ کم نہیں ان کی غزل بلاشبہ نظیری کی غزل سے زیادہ مناسبت رکھتی ہے لیکن مرزا بیان کے لحاظ سے نظیری کی کچھ خصوصیت نہیں معلوم ہوتی۔
- 8.

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1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 420.
 2. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 204.
 3. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 382.
 4. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 59.
 5. Dīwān-i-Ghālīb; Arshī edition p. 216.
 6. Ghazaliyāt-i-Nazīrī p. 241.
 7. See the statement on page 53.
 8. Yādgār-i-Ghālīb p. 183.

Hālī finds in Ghālib's ghazals the general impact of all the distinguished ghazal-writers of the Mughal age which is, of course, correct, because there was a uniform style of ghazal at that time which was, quite naturally adopted by Ghālib. But Ghālib could not be said to have been influenced by Nazīrī's mysticism. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that neither of them can be considered a mystic poet. Hālī's argument, though otherwise not without substance, is fallacious in this respect. Although Nazīrī and Ghālib did actually write mystical verses but they are formal and conventional in character and do not represent their main field of composition. Hālī, while making a comparative study of the elegies written by Nazīrī and Ghālib seems to have bypassed Faizī's elegy which is very akin to that of Ghālib. Written on the premature death of the son, Faizī's elegy is, of course, more pathetic, forceful and sincere than that of Nazīrī. Parts of the elegies from Ghālib and Faizī are reproduced below.

GHĀLIB

ای رہنوردِ عالم بالا چگونہ	ماہی تو در صمیمِ توبی ما چگونہ
از سایہ در غم تو سیہ پوش شد رھا	ای خفتہ در نشیمنِ عنقا چگونہ
زان پس کہ با تو آب و صواب چنان خست	در روضہ کجایان تماشا چگونہ
با گھر خان دھر و فای ندا خستی	با حوریان آئینہ سیمیا چگونہ
ما بخودان بجلقہ ماتم نشستم ایم	از خویشتن بگوی کہ تنها چگونہ
بی مطرب و ندیم و غلامان خردال	بی باغ و قلعه و لب دریا چگونہ
بعد از تو سنا خیل ترا برقرار داشت	اینجا عزیز بوی اینجا چگونہ

ای بعد مرگ رات بہ خوار تو عالمی
 پروانہ چراغِ مزار تو عالمی 1.

FAIZĪ

ای روشنی دیدہ روشن چگونہ	من بی تو تیرہ روز تو بی من چگونہ
من در فراق دست و گریبان عدم	تا در کفن تو پای بر من چگونہ
مسکین من از فراق تو در آب و آتش	تو زیر خاک ساخته مسکن چگونہ
نام سراست خاں من در فراق تو	تو در لحد گشت نشین چگونہ
بر خار و خس رست و بالین آت	ای یاسمین عذار کس من تن چگونہ
گل گل شکفته گلشن چشم ز خون دل	ای رنگ بخش این گل و گلشن چگونہ
داریم ناله که جگر میکند شکاف	هنگامه ساز حلقه ششون چگونہ
میسوزم از فراق و نشانی دهنده	ای شعله های غم بدل آفتن چگونہ
پزمرده بی نسیم تو باغ و بهار من	ای رنگ و بوی سوری و کون چگونہ

چون در جهان نمی دهم کس نشان تو

گویم دعا بشادی روح در روان تو 1.

Ghālīb's estimation of Faizī has not come to us in unequivocal terms. He has referred to Faizī once or twice and that too, in not a very respectful language. In fact, Ghālīb was rather shy of showing his association with all the Indian-born poets of the Persian language except, of course, Amīr Khūsraw who was acknowledged as a master even by the great Persian poets of Īrān. Moreover, Ghālīb could not altogether reject the current conception of poetry that held it to be an art based mostly on technique and craftsmanship. He was himself a great craftsman and hence, held in respect only those authorities who were Īrānians and adept in the technique of poetry. Viewing poetry in this context, he took a great deal of pain in composing his own poems to achieve artistic perfection. It is because of this tendency that the poets and

writers who influenced his thinking profoundly have not received due acknowledgement at his hand and have been referred to, if at all, only casually. Faizī is one among such poets. Greek influence permeates his literary works and the reader finds his Hellenism re-appearing in Ghālib after two centuries. Ghālib's broadmindedness, his liberal outlook, his rational approach to the various aspects of life including religion and above all his intellectual culture can be attributed to no other poet except Faizī in the entire range of Indo-Persian literature, although as a writer of pure ghazal, Ghālib does not seem to be his follower.

Ghālib generally confined his ghazal within the domains of Mughal poetry but if we go through his ghazals a little carefully, we can detect the influence of the great Hāfiz of Shīrāz also. Hāfiz can not, however, be cited as a permanent source of inspiration for Ghālib as he appears occasionally, though distinctly in Ghālib's ghazals. Such ghazals have a beautiful depiction of the natural phenomena and embody the same optimism and freshness which characterise Hāfiz. Like Hāfiz, he too exhorts us to exercise our faculties in deriving utmost pleasure from life. We feel the joy and bliss of nature in every verse which smacks of Hāfiz. One ghazal each from Ghālib and Hāfiz is cited below to illustrate the common quality.

GHĀLIB

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| سم دیدہ و گل در دیدن است مخمب | جهان جهان گل نظاره چیدن است مخمب |
| مقام را بشمیم گل نواز شش کن | نسیم غالیہ ساد در وزیدن است مخمب |
| نشاط گوش بر آواز قسقل است بیا | پیالہ چشم براہ کشید است مخمب |
| نشان زندگی دل دویدن است مایست | جلای آئینہ چشم دیدن است مخمب |
| ز دیدہ سود حریفان کشود است بمند | 1. ز دل مراد عزیزان پیدن است مخمب |

HĀFIZ

می دم صبح و کلبه سحاب	الصبح الصبح یا الحجاب
می چکد زلال بر رخ لاله	المدام المدام یا الحجاب
می وزد از چمن نسیم بهشت	هان بنوشید دمدم می ناب
تخت زمره زده است گل بچمن	راح چون لعل آتشین در یاب
در میخانه بسته اند دگر	افتح یا مفتح الاله اب
لب و دندان را حقوق ملک	صحت بر جان و سینه صلاب
اینچنین موسمی عجب باشد	کر بیندند میکده بشتاب
بر رخ ساقی پری پیکر	صمحو حافظ بنوشن بافتاب 1.

Ghālib's ghazals beginning with the following verses are also reminiscent of Hāfiz.

مژده صبح درین تیره شبانم دادند	شمع کشتند و ز خورشید نشانم دادند
دوش کز گردش بختم گلبر روی تو بود	چشم سوی فلک و روی سخن سوی تو بود
ای دل از گلن امید نشانی من آر	نیمت گزانه گلی برگ خزان من آر

A close study of Ghālib's qaṣīdās further reveals that, in addition to 'Urfī, he was at times influenced by other great qaṣīda-writers of Īrān also. For instance one of his qaṣīdas² seems to be influenced by Khāqānī. Apart from the common metrical form and refrain 'Bar Āwaram', it has a definite resemblance with Khāqānī's style. Another qaṣīda³ written in praise of Mirzā Fat ḥul Mulk has a close resemblance, in style and thought pattern, with a qaṣīda written by Minūchehrī in which he has compared wine to Jesus Christ.⁴ A large number of Ghālib's qaṣīdas have common

1. Dīwān-i-Hāfiz, Amīr Kabīr Tehrān p. 27.

2. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p.181, Qaṣaid Khāqānī Vol. 1, page 13, N.K. Press.

3. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 305.

4. Qaṣaid-i-Minūcherī p. 10.

refrain and metrical form with many great masters of the classical age, to wit, Zahrī, Salmān and Khāqānī. References to such qaṣīdas have been wilfully avoided, as this alone could not be taken as a proof of these poets' influence on Ghālib. According to Hālī, Ghālib happened to read Qaānī's qaṣīdas towards the end of his life and tried to follow his style also but due to old age he was unable to achieve much success in it.¹

Lastly, mention might be made of a very great poet of Īrān who exercised considerable influence on Ghālib's maṣnawīs. He is the great maṣnawī-writer Nizāmī. Ghālib refers to Nizāmī in the following words that speak of the great regard in which Ghālib held him. Addressing Chawdhry 'Abdul Ghafūr he writes:-

ایک اور قاعدہ عرض کرتا ہوں 'کم' کا لفظ اہل فارسی کی منطق میں کہیں افادہ معنی سب کی بھی کرتا ہے
جیسے کم آزار یعنی نیازمند نہ یہ کہ کم آزار نندہ - کم ہمایا یعنی بے ہمتا بلکہ اندک کا لفظ بھی اسی
طرح آتا ہے جیسا کہ میرا خداوند نعمت نظامی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ فرماتا ہے -
پس ویش چون آقام کی ست فردغم فراوان فریب اندک ست 2.

Nizāmī's 'Sikandarnāma' enjoyed great prestige and popularity in India at that time and was prescribed as a text-book in the courses of study. Ghālib's maṣnawī 'Abr-i-Guharbār' is greatly influenced by this book. The thought pattern of the whole 'Hamd' is similar to that of Nizāmī. Some verses that have a flavour of Nizāmī are given below:-

نہایت ستوہ از پناہندگان	نہجند ز انبوہ خواہندگان
دھند مزدیہودہ کوشندگان	خرد جنس هستی فروشدگان
کشد ناز بیکن ز افتادگان	رباید لہاز دلدادگان

1. Yādgār-i-Ghālib p. 386

2. Khuṭūṭ-i-Ghālib p. 481

زبان را بیدار در آرد بگفت	ز بادی که بر دل وزد در نرفت
کش اندیشه چونست و آنگاه چند	نگاهی بگردنده کافی بلند
چنین پرده سازد گین که راست	بیندیش کین چرخ و پروین کراست
بخور روشنائی ده روزگار	جهان داور دانش آموزگار
ز پروین بهمنای آن نقشبند	کشایند گوهر آگین پرند
شمارنده گوهر جان و دل	نگارنده پسند آب و گل
بگردون بر آرنده ماه و مهر	بگردش در آرنده نه سپهر
زبان را بگفت پیرایه ساز	روان را بدانت پیرایه ساز
1. ز رهزن رهانده رهروان	بشاهی نشانده خسروان

Nizāmī's verses dealing with the subject of 'Hamd' are also mentioned here for a comparative study:-

پناهنده را از درش ناگزیر	خداوند روزی ده و دستگیر
منور کن مردم از تیره خاک	فروزنده کوکب تابناک
گنج بخش و لب یار بخشودنی	توانا و دانا بهر بودنی
خرد را دگرگونه پیرایه	از و هر زمان روح را مایه
کشاینده دیده هوشمند	بلندی ده آسمان بلند
بهنگام بچارگی چاره ساز	جهان آفرین و ز جهان بی نیاز
بدریافتش عقل را تاب نیست	هر آنچه آفرید او با سبب نیست
دل از داننداران تسلیم اوست	خرد دانش آموز تعلیم اوست
2. بحکم آتشکارا بحکمت نشان	پراز حکمت و حکم اوست جهان
نگرهای روشن تر از آفتاب	توئی کافریدی زیکه قطره آب
تو بر روی جوهر کشی رنگ را	جوهر تو بخشی دل سنگ را
که اندیشه را نیست زو برتری	چنان بستی این طاق نیلوفری
ندانند که چون کردی آغازشان	مهندس بسی جود از رازشان
دگر حقتی باز یا خوردنی	نیاید ز ما جز نظر کردنی
3. نیلغنج علت از کار تو	زبان تازه کردن با قرار تو

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm pp. 118,119

2. Sikandarnāma pp. 104,108

3. Ibid pp. 2,3.

Ghālib distinguishes himself from Nizāmī in the following words:-

نظای نیم کز خضر در خیال	بیاموزم آئین سحر حلال
زلالی نیم کز نظای بخواب	بگلزار دانش برم جوی آب
نظای کشد ناز تا بم کجا	زلالی بود خفته خوابم کجا
مرا بسک در من اثر کرده غم	برگ طرب مویگر کرده غم
نظای بحرف از سر ووش آمده	زلالی ازو در خرووش آمده
من از خوشتن با دل دردمند	نوا ی غزل بر کشیده بلند
نباشم گراز گنج بگنج است	بغم ارضین پرده بزم است

1.

The opening lines of 'Sāqīnāma' have again a sharp reference to Nizāmī. In its verses quoted below, Ghālib claims to be a true lover of wine, while Nizāmī's praise of wine, however, is only formal and conventional in nature

بیا ساقی آئین جم تازه کن	طراز بساط کرم تازه کن
پر دیز ازنی درودی فرست	بهرام ازنی سرودی فرست
بدور بیای پیما ی	بشور دمام بفرسای نی
مبادا نظای ز راحت برد	ز درستان سوی خالقاهت برد
فرز بش مجور چون بی اشم نیست	ستم دیده گردش جام نیست
خود اوراست از پارسا گوهری	سپهری سرشی بساقی گری
دور پیشه مسکین چه داند ترا	بآرایش نام خواند ترا
رضا جوی من شو کسافر کشم	گرم نیل و جیون دمی در کشم

2.

To sum up then, we might say that Ghālib picked up the Persian ghazal from the 'Ālamgīrī poets when it was like 'Ālamgīr's empire', vast and extensive though worn out and decaying from within. Ghālib infused his power and energy into its ailing body and thus rejuvenated it. It was, rather, unfortunate for Ghālib

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 160

2. Ibid p. 162

that the Persian language had run its course in the history of India by that time. Hitherto Persian had been the main artery of expression by the upper classes in India and these classes alone were the patrons of poetry. Community of language invariably pre-supposes community of aspirations and values. The poet and the public were hither-to united in a common bond of culture. By the time Ghālib appeared on the scene, this community of thought and sentiment had faded away and Urdū was rapidly taking the place of Persian as the vehicle of poetic expression. Those who continued to write in Persian could no longer be sure of sympathetic audience. Henceforth, the audience for which an Indian poet would write in Persian was not to be an Indian audience, but that of Īrān. It is always a question whether a country would ordinarily accept a foreigner writing in their language as one of its own.

CHAPTER IVTHE POETRY

Ghālīb's Persian poetry can be divided into four parts, whose order in almost every edition of his *Kulliyat* is as follows:-

1. Qitāfāt
2. Maṣnawīyāt
3. Qaṣaid
4. Ghazaliyāt
5. Rubā'iyāt

The book begins with a Preface in highly ornate and, at times, lengthy constructions that make the language obscure.

After praising God and the Prophet, Ghālīb extols himself and his poetry and complains of its cold reception from the public. Emphasising his originality and deep power of perception he attacks those who think that the oracle of great poetry has dried up. He considers his own time to be the best in regard to poetry and declares:-

آری صباى سخن بر روزگار من از کهنلى تند و پىر زور است 1

"Oh yes, the wine of poetry in my days is strong and forceful due to oldness".

The same idea reappears in the following verse of a ghazal

تا ندیدلوا تم که مرمت سخن خواهد شدن این می از قوط خریداری کن خواهد شدن

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nazm* p. 5.

The poet has invariably described the pain of his creative process and its adverse effect on him. The images of fire, flame, candle and ashes come again and again to express the intensity of his thought. Further on, he grows satirical towards his own poetry and condemns himself for his amorous pursuits and avarice. He passes severe strictures on the business of writing qasīdas and questions the propriety of publishing such a trash matter. He accuses himself of attributing his unpopularity to the poor taste of the readers. It was more advisable, he feels, to shun the society and sit in isolation to examine his own conduct. Ghālib concludes his Preface by making a significant statement regarding his poetry that has been mentioned and discussed on page 97 and 98. ^ ^ ^

The Preface is followed by qita'āt. There are, in all, sixty six qita'āt, three tarkīb-bands and one tarjī-band excluding, of course, those found in the smaller collection of his poems named 'Sabad-i-chīn'. A large number of them are chronogrammatic compositions on miscellaneous events and have little poetic value. The remaining ones are related to the contemporary events and deal with a wide range of subjects. Their poetry is nearer facts and is more personal and direct than that of other creations. For instance, qita'āt 4 and 7 are addressed to the poet's rivals and are satirical compositions. Qita'āt 15 and 16 are addressed to an English Officer, named Hawkins, who gave his report in favour of Nawāb Shamsud-Dīn Ahmad Khān of Fīrūzpur Jhirkha against Ghālib. They contain some very trenchant remarks against the addressee and speak of the poet's courage who was capable of exposing the

character of those whom he thought to be dishonest, however strong and dreaded they might be. Qit'a 25 is a nice poem in praise of Nawāb Zulfiqār Bahādur. Qit'a No. 27 expresses the poet's love for his nephew, Ārif, and refers to Urdū as the latter's mother-tongue.

اگر برآشت خوار من باشی اندر اردو که آن زبان هست

Qit'a no. 31 is addressed to a British Officer named 'Edmonstone Bahādur'. It was written in old age after the War of Independence was over, wherein the poet declares his innocence and assures the officer of his loyalty by refuting the allegations brought against him by the interested parties. Qit'a no. 41 is written in praise of Prince Fathul Mulk. It is a beautiful poem describing the pleasures of creative moments. Qit'aāt 62 to 66 are elegies on the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Imām Husain. They are marked by great sincerity and pathos that do not fail to impress the reader. The tarkīb-band is an elegy on the sad and untimely death of Prince Farkhunda Shāh, son of Bahādur Shāh Zafar. The poet has tried to introduce pathos by intellectual force which, at times is, of course, effective but on the whole the elegy is artificial. It reminds one of Faizī's much superior elegy that he had written on his son's death in the same metre.¹

The qit'aāt are followed by the maṣnawīyāt which are eleven in number. Four of these maṣnawīyāt have achieved fame. They are entitled as 'Chirāgh-i-Dair', 'Bād-i-Mukhālīf', 'Taqrīz-i-Āin-i-Akbarī', and 'Abr-i-Guharbār'. Detailed references to each of

1. See page 66. ^ ^ ^

them will be found in other chapters. For the present, I will confine myself to giving a brief introduction of all of them.

The first maṣnawī¹ entitled 'Surma-i-Bīnīsh' is a short poem in praise of the Mughal Emperor, Behādur Shāh Zafar. It was written in imitation of the famous maṣnawī of the Mawlawī and begins with the opening verse of the same. The second maṣnawī 'Dard-o-Dāgh' is based on the following story.

Once upon a time, a farmer lived with his parents in utter penury. Being upset with the miserable state, he decided to migrate to some other place in search of better fortune and consequently, one day the whole family left the home. Unfortunately they came to a desert and in the course of their wanderings, they grew thirsty. After much roaming about, they reached a hermitage and asked for water from a saint who lived therein. After drinking the water, they narrated their woeful story before the saint and requested him to pray to God to grant each of them a boon. Taking pity on their miserable condition, the saint acceded to their request and informed them that, in response to his prayers, God had agreed to fulfil one desire from each of them. The poor fellows were overwhelmed with joy and first of all, the mother declared that she wanted to get back her youth. No sooner had she expressed the desire than her youth was restored to her and she was transformed into the gay young girl of the past. Her husband and son were spell-bound in wonder and excitement and taking her along with them, they hurried back to their home in order to ask for the remaining two divine favours also. On their

1. See page 117.

homeward march, the party came across a prince who was on a hunting expedition and had drifted away from his followers. The prince immediately fell in love with the mother, now a young girl, who also warmly reciprocated and requested the prince to take her with him. The prince set her on his horse and rode away. Looking at the treachery of his wife, the husband was so infuriated that he prayed to God to turn her into a sow, thus availing himself of the boon that was granted to him. As a result of the curse pronounced by the husband, the woman instantaneously turned into a sow. Now the prince was greatly frightened to find a sow seated behind him on horse back in place of the young girl that he had picked up. In utter disgust, he dropped her and galloped his horse away. The mother now in the shape of a sow, hurried back to join her husband and son. This time the son was moved to pity to see her mother's condition and prayed to God to restore her to her previous condition of an old woman. His prayer was also granted in consonance with the promise and she was restored to her original condition. Hence all the three boons that were promised to each of them were wasted. The moral of the story is summed up in the concluding lines that run as follows:-

چاره عیسیٰ نفقہ سودمند	تا بود یاری بخت بلند
رفتی و آمدنی بود و بوس	حاصل شان زان بگ و تازہ بوس
کیست که از ادج نہ افتد بر شیب	بخت جو پوید رہ مکر و فریب
1. حاصل تحریر من این است و بس	عالم تقدیر چنین است و بس

The third masnawī entitled 'Chirāg-i-Dair', describes mainly the beauty and attraction of Benāres, the sacred city of India.



The maṣnawī opens with a note of home sickness. The poet recalls to his memory friends like Faḡl-i-Haq Khairābādī, Husāmud-Dīn Hyder and Amīnuḡ-Dīn Aḡmad Khān whom he had left behind in Delhī. The loss of such friends and his separation from Delhī, his home town, is however compensated by the glittering city of Benāres¹ which Ghālīb declares to be the 'Kabā' of India.

Maṣnawī 4, entitled 'Rang-o-Bū' is based on an allegory which runs as follows:-

Once upon a time there lived in India a king who was very charitable and a great benefactor of mankind. One morning a wretched beggar came to him and declared that he wanted to sell away his cloak and gourd. The king purchased both the articles and deposited them in the royal treasury. The beggar got a handsome price for them and went away. On going to bed, the following night, the king saw in a dream a beautiful figure like a fairy who declared herself to be the king's wealth and asked him to bid her farewell as she was unable to stand the stink of the beggar's cloak. The king did not care to retain her and acceded to the request. Then appeared another figure, huge in size and frowning out of rage. Declaring itself to be the king's physical power, it also repeated the same complaint and deserted the royal master. The king did not still bother and acquiesced in. It was, however, immediately followed by a third figure which was extremely beautiful and brimming with life and energy. This figure too, declaring itself to be the king's prowess followed suit. This time the king could not resist his anxiety and began to implore it not to desert him.

1. See also page 119.

He pleaded that he had agreed to deprive himself from wealth and physical power just because he had prowess with him and so, if prowess, too, failed him he would find himself nowhere. The beautiful figure, prowess personified, was moved by the king's desperate appeals and promised to stand by him. The poet then draws himself to the moral of the story and regrets that his life had passed in recklessness. He holds his earlier conduct responsible for his present sufferings and warns himself against his ever-increasing avarice and selfishness. The poem ends with an advice to relinquish worldly pursuits that are false and misleading and to devote oneself more and more to communion with the all-pervading God.

Maṣnawī 5, entitled 'Bād-i-Mukhālīf' is related to the well-known controversy that took place during Ghālib's stay at Calcutta. For a fuller account of this maṣnawī and the researches that followed it, the reader is referred to page 22.

Maṣnawī 6 deals with the poet's observations on some religious beliefs and practices that were engaging the attention of religious thinkers and reformers of the day. It appears, there were two groups of opposite views, the Wahābīs or rationalists and the other consisting of credulous persons. The former group did not approve of subservience and devotion to saints and other religious figures. They believed in worshipping God and paying due respect to his prophet only and condemned the superstitions and accretions of Indian and Īrānīan origin. They denounced

pilgrimage to the tombs of saints, their birthday celebrations and other similar practices. Ghālib upholds these practices and argues in their favour by rationalizing the common emotions. He walks mid-way between the two groups and wants to bring about a via-media between them. Thus he justifies the devotion and prayer to the holy saints not because they are omnipotent but because they are nearer God and can influence His will.

The seventh maṣnawī entitled 'Tahniyat-i-Īd-i-Shawwāl' is in praise of the Mughal Emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zāfar. It is a short qaṣīda in the form of a maṣnawī describing the ancestral glory of the Emperor and his patronage of Ghālib's poetry. It was composed to felicitate the Emperor on the festival of 'Īd-i-Shawwāl'.

The eighth maṣnawī, entitled 'Dar Tahniyat-i-Īd ba Wali-i-Ahd', was also written on a similar occasion. It describes the pomp and glory of the heir-apparent, Mirzā Fathul Mulk.

Maṣnawī no. 9 is a foreword on a book, named 'Bist-o-Haft Akhtar' written by the king of Awadh. Although Ghālib could not help praising the book and its royal author, he has nevertheless very discreetly alluded to the non-serious element of 'Lahw' and 'Bāzi' that he found in it.

The tenth maṣnawī is also a foreword on the famous book 'Āin-i-Akbari' which was edited by Sir Saiyid Ahmād Khan. It is an important piece of poetry, for it gives an insight into Ghālib's scientific out-look. A detailed reference to it will be found

on page 114.

The eleventh maṣnawī entitled Abr-i-Guharbār is the longest and the best maṣnawī written by Ghālib. Ghālib's own opinion regarding this maṣnawī, especially the munājāt is worth quoting

توحید و مناجات و منقبت و ساقی نام و معنی نام پیدائی پذیرفت باچانی و خیاگر بس سخنهای
دل آویز و مهر انگیز گفته آمد دیزه در مناجات بشیوه ابداع بدان سان زندانه و قلندران سخن
سروده شد که سرودشان بهشتی را لب از شورها یا هو تنهار زد و در باره معراج عروج فکر آن پایه
یافت که سخن از جای که میرفت هم بدانجا رسید 1.

"Tawhīd, Munājāt, Manqibat, Sāqīnāma and Mughannīnāma came into existence. Many heart-ravishing and love-exciting words were spoken with the cup-bearer and the musician. Especially in the munājāt, verses in the original style were recited in such a licentious and reckless manner that pustules broke out upon the lips of the angels of Paradise due to the shouts of joy and festivity."

The maṣnawī comprises about eleven hundred verses and is sub-divided into the following parts:-

1. 'Hamd'
2. 'Munājāt' including a story
3. 'Na't' including the description of Mirāj
4. Manqibat
5. Mughannīnāma
6. Sāqīnāma

Ghālīb desired to write a long maṣnawī on the holy wars waged by the Prophet of which only the introductory part comprising the existing eleven hundred verses could be completed. Writing in the Preface to the earliest edition of this Maṣnawī, he says:-

در ضمیر زود اثر پذیر من چنان فرو دامد که غزوات خداوند دنیا و دین حضرت امام المسلمین سلام علیہ من
رب العالمین ببند نگارشش اندر آرم 1.

"In my impressionable mind, it so came that I should bring into writing the holy wars of the lord of Earth and Heaven, the Head of the prophets, be peace on him from God of the worlds."

Again writing to Ṣūfī Munīrī, he declares,

ایام شباب میں کہ بحر طبع روانی پر تھا جی میں آیا کہ غزوات صاحب ذوالفقار لکھنا چاہئے حمد و نعت و
منقبت و ساقی نامہ و مفتی نامہ لکھا گیا داستان طرازی کی توفیق نہ پائی ناچار اسی آٹھ سو شعر کو چھپوا لیا 2.

"In early youth, when the river of disposition was in full swing, it came to my mind that I should versify the holy wars of Ṣāheeb-i-Zulfiqār. Ḥamd, Nāṭ, Manqibat, Sāqīnāma and Mughannīnāma were composed but the urge for story - telling was found missing. Consequently, I got only these eight or nine hundred verses published."

The following verses of Sāqīnāma also bear evidence to the same fact.

زبان تازہ سازم بنیر و بخت	بذکر شہنشاہ بی تاج و تخت
گذشت آنگہ دستار ای کمن	ز کینخرو درستم آرد سخن
منم کم بود در طراز کلام	ششصد و پچہر سپید امام
نہ فردوسیم مکتہ انگیز تر	ز مرغ سحر خوان سحر خیز تر
فرو مردن شمع ساسانیان	بود صبح اقبال ایمانیان

1. Maṣnawī Abr-i-Guharbār p. 3.

2. Khutūt-i-Ghālīb, p. 609.

رقم سخن منشور یزدانیم ز ایمانیان گویم ایمانیم
 کسی را که نازد بیگانهگان خرد در شمارد ز دیوانگان
 باقبال ایمان و نیروی دین سخن را نم از سیدالمرسلین 1.

The 'Hamd' is influenced by Nizāmī to which I have already referred in detail. Ghālib himself admits the influence of Nizāmī and Firdawsī in the Preface to the Maṣnawī. He declares:-

بهیچ نوشتن شنوی دشمنین افتاد فردوسی طوسی را بر صفائی و نظافتی گنجوی را
 نیرو فزائی گاشتند 2.

"The idea to write the maṣnawī found way into the heart.
 They appointed Firdawsī Tūsī for guidance and Nizāmī
 Ganjawī for promoting strength."

Ghālib might have kept Firdawsī in mind as he was intending to write an epic but the existing verses hardly seem to bear any resemblance with Firdawsī's style. In fact it has been difficult for any Persian poet to imitate Firdawsī, especially after the crowning achievement of Nizāmī who had set a lasting pattern in maṣnawī by refining the rough and robust legacy left by Firdawsī. Ghālib is also one of the faithful followers of Nizāmī in maṣnawī. I have, however, succeeded in noticing some verses of the maṣnawī under consideration that can be likened to Firdawsī's famous description of a dreary night in which he asks for candle and wine from a lady friend and then begins to compose the famous romance of Bīzhan and Munīza³. Ghālib's verses are

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 167

2. Abr-i-Guharbār page 2,3

3. Shāhnāma p. 320

as follows:-

ز سودا جان اصرمن خوی بود	شب از تیرگی اصرمن روی بود
نشاط سخن صورت غم گرفت	خلوت ز تارکیم دم گرفت
چراغی طلب کردم از جان پاک	دران کج تار و شب هو ناک
چراغی که بادا ز هر خانه دور	چراغی که باشد ز پروانه دور
کند شعله بر خورشید شون درو	نه بینی نشانی ز روغن درو
دلی بود که تاب غم سوختم	چراغی که بی روغن افروختم

The 'Hamd' is a fine illustration of Ghālib's liberal out-look and broad-mindedness. The portion containing Munājāt can be considered among the best pieces of Persian poetry ever written. It begins with conventional ideas on the existence of God, his divine powers and benevolence. Ghālib affirms his belief in the universe being a manifestation of God. He then turns to expose his sins and sufferings and exaggerates them to the extent that they become too prodigious and formidable to be punished by the forces of Hell. He further digresses to narrate the story of a certain king, who, having compassion over a group of prisoners, had set them free. Ghālib implores God to pardon his sins and draws His attention to the merciful king who had done likewise in regard to his prisoners. If, however, that was not possible, Ghālib seeks permission to speak in self-defence when his conduct is examined before God. It is from this point that the masnawī takes a brilliant turn.¹

The portion containing 'Nat' or the Prophet's praise has nothing of special significance. The description of the Prophet's heavenly journey 'Mirāj' is composed with elaborateness and is

1. See also page 122, chapter V, for full appreciation.

full of glowing images and metaphors. The manqibat is in praise of Hazrat 'Alī for whom Ghālib had always a feeling of great devotion. Accordingly, he expresses his deep love and admiration for him. Envy of 'Urfī, whose mortal remains are alleged to have been taken to Najaf (the burial place of Hazrat 'Alī) and buried there, Ghālib also yearns to be buried in the same holy city.

Mughannīnāma's importance lies in the emphasis that it lays on reason which has been the corner-stone of Ghālib's ideas. Further discussion of this poem will be found on page 110.

In Sāqīnāma, the poet describes his mystical conception of the world which is a little more than a repetition of the old and traditional ideas. It also bears evidence to the fact that the maṣnawī, or at least this part of it, was composed in old age. The following verses may be noted in this respect. The poet deliberately avoids to undergo the strain of better poetry, being too old to stand it.

سخن را خود آنگونه دادم سرود	کزین نیز خوشتر توام سرود
ولی تاب در خود نیام	هر بر قلم بر نیام
کنون نیست ظلّ همایم بس	بیری قناد این همایم بس
سیاهی ز موی سرم زود رفت	مگر آتش افسرد کین دود رفت
دریغ از ترقی محکوس من	که باشد سرم بپاکوس من
ز سر باد پندار بیرون شده	سسی سرم من بید مجنون شده

The loss of youth, however, is compensated by the maturity of the poet's art

چرخم از فلک رنگم از روی برد	توام ز خود در سخن گوی برد
نیامم ز پیری جوانم برای	هنوزم بود طبع نور آزمای
سخن سچ معنی طرازم هنوز	بشیوای شبنم نازم هنوز

صنوبرم جگر موج خون می زند ز دل نیش غم سر برودن می زند
 ز چشمم همان خون بدامان چکد تن نبود اما ز درنگان چکد

In contrast to these verses, however, Ghālib's letter quoted on page 82, shows that the maṣnawī was composed in extreme youth. Hālī's opinion,¹ therefore, that this maṣnawī was a production of old age seems to be based not on this letter but on the internal evidence of the verses just quoted. Shaikh Muḥammad Ekrām, however, ignoring the verses and the letter both, places the maṣnawī in the third stage of Ghālib's poetry which runs from 1838 upto 1847, a period belonging to the poet's middle age.² So far as I have been able to judge, the composition of this maṣnawī seems to have taken place in different periods spreading all over Ghālib's active life. Some of its parts, perhaps *Nāt* and *Manqibat*, more elaborate as they are in comparison to the other parts, might have been composed in early life as Ghālib's letter addressed to Ṣūfī Munīrī tells us. Then there are the mature and more powerful parts like the *Munājāt* and the *Mughannīnāma* that seem to be a production of the middle age. The last part, *Sāqīnāma*, itself bears testimony that it was composed in old age but we must place it, at any rate, before 1857 as Ghālib tells us in the Preface to the first edition of this maṣnawī, published in 1863, that he could not continue this maṣnawī after the first War of Independence on account of his failing health and the nervous shock received during the catastrophe. Another reason which he gives for leaving the work incomplete is that the story

1. Yādgar-i-Ghālib, p. 313.

2. Ghālibnāma, p. 230.

of the Prophet's holy wars was so well known to every class of people in India that its narration would have been stale and charmless. His words are as follows:-

نیافتن توفیق داستان طرازی سببی دارد عمام که در قلمرو هند از شهری و روستای و دانا و نادان
و بیرو جوان کم کسی باشد که آنرا نداند - حقا که این نیزنگ آسمانی که بصورت کمرشی سپاه
بظهور پیوست در تن هاروان و در روانها توان تو نگار را زر در خزان و سخنوران را
سخن در زبان نگذاشت - نام نگار پیر هفتاد سال و رنجور و غمزده و دلنگار از زیستن
بزار و بزرگ ناگاه امیدوار 1.

Ghālib's qasīdas have been regarded as his best compositions by some critics. Ghālib's own opinion regarding them was highest and might have influenced the later assessments of other Writing to Nabī Bakhsh Khan Haqīr, he remarks:-

بھائی تم غزل کی تعریف کرتے ہو اور میں شرماتا ہوں..... میرے فارسی کے قصیدے جن پر
مجھ کو ناز ہے کوئی ان کا لطف نہیں اٹھاتا۔ 2.

Dear Brother, you praise my ghazal and I feel ashamed of it. Nobody appreciates my Persian qasīdas which I am proud of.

Hālī thinks that Ghālib's qasīdas are distinctive in quality and quantity both. He wrote them more than any other form because they were supposed to be the main form of poetry in those days.

There are in all sixty four qasīdas in the Kulliyāt, the details of which are given below:-

Qasīda 1	in praise of God
Qasīda 2 - 12	in praise of the Prophet and the members of the House of the Prophet.

1. Maṣnawī Abr-i-Guharbār, p. 3.

2. Ghālib- His life and Persian poetry p. 98.

Qaṣīda 13	in praise of Akbar Shah II and Prince Salīm
Qaṣīda 14 - 28	in praise of Bahādur Shāh Zāfar
Qaṣīda 29 - 31	in praise of Queen Victoria
Qaṣīda 32 - 45	in praise of British Governors and Officers
Qaṣīda 46 - 48	In praise of Prince Fathul Mulk
Qaṣīda 49 - 53	in praise of <u>Nawāb</u> of Awadh
Qaṣīda 54 - 56	in praise of Nawāb of Rāmpūr
Qaṣīda 57	in praise of Wazīrud-Dawla
Qaṣīda 58	in praise of Shiv Dhian Singh
Qaṣīda 59	in praise of Narendra Singh
Qaṣīda 60	in praise of Nawāb Muṣṭafā Khān Shīfta
Qaṣīda 61	in praise of Ṣadrud-Dīn Āzurda
Qaṣīda 62	in praise of Ziaud-Dīn Ahmad
Qaṣīda 63	in praise of Mukhtārul Mulk
Qaṣīda 64	A long subjective poem.

A close study of Ghālib's qaṣīdas reveals great skill. Motivated as they were by monetary requirements, the qaṣīdas lack the impassioned out-pourings of the poet's heart. Ghālib, however, strove to make up this deficiency by his craftsmanship and spared no effort to make them musical, fluent and impressive. As we know, Ghālib is an artist of the highest order and it is in his qaṣīdas that he has displayed his workmanship with the greatest care. By sheer intellectual force he makes his affectations appear like genuine feelings and we can not even detect this fact except under a very careful and shrewd analysis.

One special feature of these qaṣīdas is the element of

self-praise. Ghālib, not infrequently, exalts himself and his poetry, apparently because he has the proud privilege of being a panegyrist of great personalities, but in reality it is simply self-glorification under the garb of praising high-ranking personalities. For instance, after describing the beauty of his compositions in many verses in succession, he attributes it to the Prophet's praise.

دین پایہ در آن است سخن را کہ ستایم مدوح خداوند زمین را و زمان را

Again, addressing himself to the twelfth Imām, he declares:-

کلک مرا ز نازش مدح تو در سر است	بادی کہ جنبش علم کاویان دهد
ایزد نیافرید چنانم بفتن شعر	کائنات کسی نظیر درین خاندان دهد
چون من مدح جاہ تو بندم، سیکدگر	آن گوناگون گم کہ قلم در بنان دهد
چیند ز گرد و بیش گم ریزها ظہیر	کالایش سریر قزل ارسلان دهد
هر کس کہ سوی صوفی شعر نظر کند	مشکل کہ دل بطرہ غبرفشان دهد
هم نوحہ سچ عشقم و هم راز دان علم	ناصید ساز و شتریم لیلان دهد

As has been referred to in the third chapter. Ghālib is a follower of 'Urfī in this respect, as the latter, too, felt great delight in extolling himself in qasīdās. As far the fantastic type of laudatory verses and the demand for money, Ghālib follows in the foot-steps of the common oriental poets, and his poetry under this head is not very edifying and graceful. He includes Lord Canning, the then Viceroy of India, among the members of the famous Kayānī dynasty of Īrān and declares him to be the fourth in succession to Kaiqubād, Kaikāūs and Kaikhusrāw. The qasīda¹ is all full of indecent flattery, comparing

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm p. 295

Lord Canning to even Jesus Christ. The concluding verses refer to the first War of Independence condemning the national insurgents. The poet assures the viceroy of his loyalty to the British crown and requests for title, robe of honour and pension. The beauty of Ghālib's qasīdas, however, lies mostly in the exordia, where the poet takes up serious subjects for composition and produces really admirable verses. The exordium of qasīda no. 49, written after the pattern of the famous qasīda of 'Urfī, can be quoted as an example. It begins with verses of high excellence in the lyrical style which, later on, take a subjective turn and the poet describes, in a beautiful and exquisite style, his coming out of Delhi and the hardships that followed it. Mention may here be made of another qasīda addressed to Wazīrud-Dawla¹ that also has a nice exordium describing the charm of autumn in India. In sharp contrast to the general practice of mentioning the seasons of Īrān and their flowers, Ghālib depicts a real picture of Indian Geography, its climate and flora and fauna. Ghālib never felt at home in composing encomia that required flattery and obsequious behaviour. He once wrote to Tafta

اپنا شیوہ ترک نہیں کیا جاتا وہ روش ہندوستانی فارسی لکھنے والوں کی بچہ کو نہیں آتی کہ
بالکل بھاٹوں کی طرح بکنا شروع کریں - میرے قصیدے دیکھو شیب کے شعر بہت پاؤ گے
اور میرے شعر کمتر 2۔

'One's practice can not be given up. I am unfamiliar with the fashion of the Persian writers of India who begin to speak like 'Bhāts' (professional flatterers).

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p.333.

2. Khutūt-i-Ghālib p. 120.

Look at my qasīdas. You will find several verses of exordia and a few of encomia.'

In exordia, however, Ghālib did not have to flatter and hence his energy found a free out-let. His aversion to flattery is further proved by the qasīdas addressed to Nawāb Muṣṭafā Khān Shīfta, Ṣadrud-Dīn Āzurda and Ziaud-Dīn Ahmad which he wrote out of a feeling of love and devotion. These qasīdas are strikingly elegant and sincere. In fact, they have a character different from those addressed to kings and governors for material gains and are inspired by the personal respect that the poet had for them. Āzurda was a great scholar of Persian language. Ghālib keeps this in mind and pays glowing tributes to his knowledge and learning and admits his own indebtedness to the latter. The language of the qasīda is idiomatic and chaste and the thought content is high. An intellectual refinement is visible throughout, replacing the egotism and meaningless flattery that appears in other qasīdas. Ghālib, unstintedly, admits the moral and educational influence exercised over him by Ṣadrud-Dīn in the following verses.

میر و مخدوم و مطاع و والی و مولای من	صدر دین و دولت و صدر الصدور روزگار
سجده از بهر حرم نگذاشت در کیمای من	خاک کیش خود پسند افتاده در جذب سجود
روشناس چرخ و انجم پای و والای من	صاحب از یمن روح روشنای است

Ghālib can be easily distinguished in his ghazals from other forms of poetry, to wit, qasīda and maṣnawī. It is in ghazal that the poet refers to Zuhūrī, Nazīrī and Bedil, sometimes as his masters and sometimes as his equals. The peculiar

diction and highly sophisticated style of the school of Fughānī dominates them. It is not found in qasīdas and maṣnawīs. Full discussion of the influences at work in Ghālib's ghazal and its intrinsic qualities will be found in the third and fifth chapter. It may be added on this occasion that although Ghālib's ghazals can not be regarded as his best poetry, yet he produced some very fine ghazals that can be included among the standard Persian ghazals and Ghālib could have secured a distinguished place among the Persian poets even if he had not composed anything else except them.

The Kulliyāt ends with a collection of one hundred and four rubā'iyāt. Commenting on the rubā'iyāt Hālī writes:-

مرزا کی رباعیات اکثر شوخی و بیباکی و بادہ خواری و مہربانیاں اور شکایت و زارنالی کے
مضامین سے پُر ہیں اور کسی قدر متصوفانہ اور چند خاص خاص مضامین پر ہیں - غریبیت میں ظاہر
عمر خیام کا تتبع معلوم ہوتا ہے مرزا کی رباعی میں بہ نسبت عام غزلیات کے زیادہ صفائی و مناسبت و گہری
پائی جاتی ہے۔ 1.

"Mirzā's rubā'iyāt are based on the theme of jollity, intrepidity, drinking, boastfulness, protests and bewailing. Some of them are mystical and a few deal with particular subjects. The wine poetry seems apparently to be an emulation of 'Umar Khayyām. Mirzā's rubā'iyāt have more lucidity, bloom and warmth in comparison to ordinary ghazals".

In the light of these rubā'iyāt, we can hardly attribute any excellence to the poet and it becomes difficult to agree

1. Yādgār-i-Ghālib p. 255.

with Hālī that Ghālīb's rubā'iyāt are better than his ghazals. On the contrary, I feel that they have not been seriously and deligently composed. As Hālī himself admits, the rubā'iyāt are written in imitation of Khayyām but even the imitation has not been carefully attempted. Here is an specimen of some of the best rubā'iyāt

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| سائل زگدا! بجز ندامت نبرد | مرگ از عاشق بجز ندامت نبرد |
| از سینه من که قلم خون دلست | جز تیر تو کس جان سلامت نبرد |
| یارب نفسش را به بزم بخشند | یارب خزه های دجله را بزم بخشند |
| بی سوز غم عشق مباد از نزار | جانی که بر روز رستم بخشند |
| بازی خور روزگار بودم هم عمر | از بخت امیدوار بودم هم عمر |
| بیایه بنگر سود ماندم هم جا | بی وعده در انتظار بودم هم عمر |
| در عالم بی زری که تلخ است حیات | طاعت نتوان کرد بامید نجات |
| ای کاش ز حق اشارت صوم و صلوٰه | بودی بوجود مال چون حج و زکات |
| چون درد تر پیاله باقیست هنوز | شادم که بهار لاله باقیست هنوز |
| در کیش تو کل غم فرا کفر است | یکروزه می دوسال باقیست هنوز |

Ghālīb was a versatile genius. He wrote maṣnawī, qaṣīda

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 538

2. Ibid p. 542

3. Ibid p. 550

4. Ibid p. 547

5. Ibid p. 547

and ghazal with equal grace and his command over all the forms of poetry was so amazing that it becomes difficult to determine wherein he excelled. Mr. Gīlānī, however, being swept away by Ghālib's craftsmanship, declared his qaṣīdas to be his best work which I feel is not a correct assessment. On the contrary, I hold that if poetry is to be judged not merely by the technical skill at work in it, Ghālib's qaṣīdas stand lower than his ghazals and maṣnawīs.. The ghazals are marked by originality and serious thinking although Ghālib could not be regarded as an inventor in this sphere. Being an off-shoot of the general legacy of the Mughal poetry, much of its thought pattern and workmanship, as we have noticed in the third chapter belongs to the poets of that age. Ghālib only projected his personality and experiences in the given thought pattern of the ghazal and polished and refined its verses with great skill. In maṣnawī, however, Ghālib stands on a different plane altogether. He received nothing from the Mughal poets that could serve as a stepping stone for him. Some maṣnawīs were, no doubt, written during that period, especially those by Zuhūrī, which exercised some influence on Ghālib but they are negligible in quality and quantity both. The spirit of the Mughal age predominantly expressed itself in ghazal and therefore resulted in its development. There is no continuity of this kind in maṣnawī. The last great maṣnawī writer is Jāmī who flourished four hundred years before Ghālib. During this vast span of time, considerable development in human knowledge took place which is evident from the subject matter of Ghālib's maṣnawīs.

Formerly, the maṣṇawīs were used for the epic poetry dealing with heroic deeds, or as a vehicle of mystical ideas. Ghālib used it to convey his views over the current affairs directly as in the case of the tenth maṣṇawī. He had to force the language of Jāmī and Nizāmī to suit the requirements of his own time. This was far more difficult than composing ghazals where the poet has a set language and rich store of symbols and other artistic devices to draw upon. The subject matter of ghazal has essentially remained unchanged upto the modern times which retained the old language for expression. Ghālib's contribution in maṣṇawī therefore, is more original and fresh despite the fact that he rigidly followed the old pattern. Munājāt was always written by Persian poets. It was rather a convention to begin a long poem with Hamd which generally included munājāt. But nobody used it, like Ghālib, to give vent to the deep-rooted and suppressed feelings of human heart and turning it into a powerful satire on the moral set-up of the feudal civilization. In addition to this historic aspect, Ghālib's maṣṇawīs are superior to his other creations mainly on account of their intrinsic quality. If 'Shāhnāma' of Firdawsī, the Maṣṇawī of Mawlawī, 'The Hamlet' of Shakespeare and 'Paradise Lost' of Milton, to quote a few identical works, represent the best poetry of the human race, then certainly, Ghālib's maṣṇawī 'Abr-i-Guharbār, being of an equal footing, deserves to be included among the classics of world literature. A considerable portion of it, like the Munājāt, Mughannīnāma and Sāqīnāma records a pattern of thinking which was almost unknown to the Eastern mind upto that time.

CHAPTER V PHILOSOPHY

In the third chapter, we have already examined in detail the heritage received by Ghālīb which served as the basis of his poetry. We have noticed in respect of ghazals that Ghālīb mostly followed the line of the Mughal poets. In maṣnawī, however, he went far ahead of this period to seek guidance from the great classical masters, especially Nizāmī Ganjawī. He strictly adhered to the principles formulated by the great masters in regard to the language and the style of diction and there is no gain saying the fact that he achieved greater command over the Persian language than any other Indian poet did, barring of course, Amīr Khusrāw and Faizī. The musical setting of his words together with the use of appropriate phrases, apt similes and sprightly metaphors never fail to produce a melody that enchants us. The glamour of his embellished diction has sometimes dazzled the eyes of scholars and hence they could not appreciate the real value of his poetry. Dr. 'Arif Shāh C. Syaid Gilānī falls an easy prey to this diction. He writes:-

"Unlike Firdausī, Rūmī, Ḥāfiz and Iqbāl, Ghālīb had no pretensions to make. His primary duty it was to purify the language of all the weeds that had crept in with the passage of time.¹"

"Ghālīb did not consider poetry as the aureole of true philosophy and complete science. On the contrary, he was mainly

1. Ghālīb, His life and Persian poetry p. 199.

concerned with the culture of the language, the outer garb of thought.^{1a}

This conclusion is so grievously misleading that it renders the whole thesis unreliable. In the first place, it is absurd to suppose that a foreigner could 'purify a language of all the weeds that had crept in with the passage of time'. The Persian that Ghālib wrote had fallen away from the Persian that was current in Īrān and had subsequently become artificial. We can not, therefore, impress anybody, much less an Īrānīan, by laying stress on Ghālib's language. Secondly, it would be a great injustice, I am inclined to call it rather an insult to Ghālib, to depict him as one mainly concerned with the 'outer garb of thought' and not with the thought itself. Notwithstanding the profound philosophy and the great thoughtcontent permeating Ghālib's poetry, I wish Dr. Gilānī would have only cared to listen to Ghālib's unqualified words in this respect which bear out that he based his poetry on the fire of deep emotions and thoughts and held in scorn poets who wasted their energies over the subtleties of rhetorical devices and the figures of speech. Writing in a satirical vein, he says in his preface:

آری چرا چنین نباشد که شخص استعداد مرا پیرایه نازش فضل و تشریف وجود مرا سرمایه برازش گمان
نیست نه ترانه صرف داشتاقم بر لب است نه زمره سلب و ایجابم بزبان نه خون مرا هم بگردن است
نه نفش قاسم بر دوش نه آبله پای جاده ضایع نه گوهر آمای رشته بدالج 2.

1. Ghālib, His life and Persian poetry p. 191

2. Kulliyāt-i-Naṣr, p. 10, 11 '

"O yes, why should it not be so, because for the person of my skill there is no embellishment of the glory of learning, and the robe of my existence does not possess the fortune and decoration of excellence. I have neither the songs of grammar and etymology on my lips nor the chanting of logical terms on my tongue, neither the blood of Şurāh¹ on my neck nor the dead body of Qāmūs² on my shoulders. I am neither a blister on the foot that treads the path of figures of speech nor I fashion pearls in the string of marvels'.

He then refers to the fire that is the main motive force of his poetry.

کباب گری آتش بیدود پارسم و خراب تلخی باده پُر زور منی - آتشکده ناهسیان عجم را ستمندم
 سوزن هم از من پرس و گز از نخلندان پارس را بلبلم شور من هم از من جوی - سبزه دمانه
 ابراست و گل فشانده باد چیدن و دست بستن کینه صنعت است و یاران پیشه در اند آری
 بیکار نشاید زیست نفس در خرابه کاشتن است و زبان در زبان درودن در گرفتن و هم
 از خود مایه برگرفتن شگرف حالت است و ما اندرین هنگام ایم 3.

'I am roasted by the heat of the smokeless fire of Persian and intoxicated by the bitterness of the strong wine of meaning. I am the salamander of the fire temple of the Magians of Īrān; ask me alone about my burning. I am the nightingale of the flower-garden of the gardeners of Persia, seek my enthusiasm in me. The verdure is sprouted by the clouds and the flowers are shed by the wind. To

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1. Title of an Arabic-Persian Dictionary
 2. Title of a celebrated Arabic dictionary
 3. *Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm* p. 11

pick them up and bind them together in a bouquet is an inferior art. Comrades are professionals. Yes, one should not live without an occupation. The breath is sowing the spark and the tongue is reaping the flame. To kindle up and to exploit one's own self is a unique condition and we are in that turmoil".

Ghālīb, no doubt, took pains to refine his verses and was very careful about his diction. He also held poetry basically to be an art, but, paradoxical though it may seem, his greatness springs from the philosophy that is enshrined in his art. He might not have deliberately propounded it. He might not have been even conscious of the philosophy. That, however, matters little. Shakespeare was not in the least conscious of the philosophy he was giving to posterity. He had only the stage in view and wrote his plays for the common play-goer to make commercial gain. A number of instances from the world literature can be cited to show that many great poets, unlike Milton, Rūmī and Iqbāl, took to writing not to preach any particular gospel, yet they can not be regarded as mere artists without having any philosophy or message. 'Literature is criticism of life' says Mathew Arnold and when this criticism is expressed by a powerful genius it also embodies the freshness and originality of his out-look on life. It becomes a vision of one who can see more deeply into the truth and the beauty of life and can react more power—fully than the ordinary man. However great may be the

emphasis that is commonly laid on the aesthetic nature of Art, a great poet can not escape the responsibilities of a philosopher and a teacher. However attractive, therefore, the form and the medium of expression might be, it must not be allowed to divert our attention from the substance or the vision of the artist that it embodies because it is there that the power of his thought and his moral strength reside..

Ghālib was living in a period of transition, of rapid changes in every sphere of life. The political, social and economic conditions pertaining to the period under consideration have already been reviewed in the first chapter. We have also noticed in the chapter dealing with Ghālib's life that he was an ambitious and energetic man with a wide sphere of activity and experience. Apart from the hardships and shocking set-backs of his own life, he saw the great political upheavals culminating in the extinction of the great Mughal Empire. He was well-acquainted with the ambitious plan of the western type of education that was being started by the British Government on a countrywide scale in India. The civilizing effects of the new education were already felt in Bengāl before Ghālib's time where the Reformist Movement started by Rāja Rām Mohan Roy was in full swing and was heading towards Northern India. Ghālib had an additional opportunity to visit this westernised and advanced part of the country and compare it with the land of his birth. His poetry, therefore, quite naturally reflects this revolutionary fervour. The boredom of the out-grown feudal society, the crumbling of its moral and ethical set-up, the national mood of doubt and disillusion, the zeal for reform, the urge for a new mode of life and

the subsequent inquisitiveness into the general thinking resulting in the conflict of materialism and idealism— all have found an eloquent expression in Ghālib's poetry. But this depiction alone, however faithful and interesting, could not have made Ghālib's poetry immortal. A great poet, apart from being a product of his time, must also transcend it. Ghālib has both the qualities to his credit. The experiences that he gained were, no doubt, the outcome of the historical conditions of his time, but the arrangement of those experiences in an artistic order and on a higher intellectual plane was the master work of his genius. He was able not only to express the diversity of our 'indispensable' nineteenth century but moulded its various intellectual forces into a constructive shape and still further added to it the charm of his personality and the practical wisdom of his constructive out-look on life. It is mostly on this basis, that his poetry, transcending its own time becomes of great value and interest for us. It serves as a guide book for all those who take a bold stand and struggle for the achievement of some ideal amidst unfavourable circumstances. In going through its pages, we feel the company of a great and experienced master who not only attracts us by the charm of his personality but also teaches us the art of living. He conjures up a busy world full of vigour and energy and shot with turbulent movements. Unlike Thomas More's 'Utopia', where every thing is according to one's wishful thinking, it is a realistic world of contradictory forces— of intrigues, conspiracies and violent outbursts on the one hand and of resistance, defiance and indomitable courage on the other. It is a world where ephemeral phases of hope and fear rise and

vanish in quick succession. We are sometimes lost in confusion. We hear life groaning in the mysterious clutches of death and disease and shudder back but suddenly a light comes to us and leads us on and before we are cowed down completely by the horrifying forces, we are equipped with the necessary arms to repel them. What are these arms? It is in answer to this question that we realize the unique and unparalleled quality of Ghālib's poetry that sets him apart from, and above all the oriental poets. Most of our poets, when they come face to face with the tragic aspect of life, suggest only two alternatives. In the first place, they suggest, like Khayyām and Hāfiz, an escape from it by submerging the worries in a bowl of wine and to live an epicurean life. Thus Hāfiz sings:-

حدیث از مطرب دی گو درازدم کز جو کرکس نشود و نشاید بکمت این مہارا

Secondly, those who are more serious minded, exhort us to adopt spiritual and idealistic methods like Rūmī and Iqbāl, thus bringing us in the orbit of religious and mystical thinking. Ghālib stands distinctly apart from both the groups. His approach to the problem of life is scientific and practical and his main weapon in this field is REASON, because he bases his philosophy on sound arguments that are neither emotional nor idealistic. This is again, paradoxically enough, only a proof of his greatness as a poet. Rejecting the inherited beliefs and traditional views, he utilized the fresh knowledge of his time in forming a modern and, therefore, higher conception of ethics and consequently bringing about what has been termed as 'emotionalization of knowledge'. Ghālib was himself fully conscious of this aspect of his poetry

when he wrote:-

با من میادیز ای پدر فرزند آزر را نگذر
هر کس که شد صاحب نظر دین بزرگان خوش نکرد 1.

"Do not dispute with me O father, look at Āzar's son.
He who became a man of insight did not approve of the
ancestral religion".

Ghālib's unique contribution, therefore, as a poet and subsequently the basis of his greatness, lies in the fact that he awakened and accelerated the contemporary feelings to keep pace with the development in the field of intellect which they otherwise seldom do. Few can fail to realize this quality of his poetry while reading the tenth maṣnawī of his Kulliyāt that will presently come under consideration. I will now try to illustrate, with the help of Ghālib's verses how he differs from other poets in answering to the challenge of life. In the first instance, he teaches us to take an objective view of reality, 'to see things as they are' and then by using our knowledge and resources, to force them to serve our purpose. It is significant that Ghālib seldom tries to give any wishful picture of the world that may lead to disillusionment. That is one of the reasons why some of his critics were led to call him a pessimist which may appear to be true, when such verses are seen as isolated reflections and not in the entire framework of his art. He looks at life in its broad historical perspective and cogitates upon the countless human beings that have vanished with the passage of time. It is, no doubt, a grim world but at the same time true also where the

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 449.

dust of the perished and forgotten travellers is still rising

ریگ در بادیه عشق روانست هنوز تا چایای درین راه لغو شدن رفت 1.

The poet then feels disappointed with life and tries to console himself with death. Pitying the sad plight of Khizr, Idrīs and Christ, who are bound to live for ever, according to Islām, he exclaims

دل مایوس را تسکین بردن میتوان دادن چه امید است آخر خضر و ادریس و عیسی را 2.

But this is only a passing phase and not the tailend of his thinking. Ghālib was gifted with an analytical mind and his analysis led him to the conclusion that happiness and haplessness are both in a state of transition in this world which is governed by the immutable law of change.

شادی و غم هرگز نشسته ترا بیکدیگر اند روز روشن بود و شب تار آمد و رفت 3.

ففس و دام را گنهی نیست ریختن در نهاد بال و پر است

بیزد این برگ و آن گل افشانند هم خزان هم بهار در گذر است 4.

He, therefore, concentrates on this change and by concentrating on the ever-changing social and physical phenomena that surround him, he hits the mark. His attention is focused on the present, beckoning him with all its adventures and opportunities. On recognizing the real battlefield, he rejects irrelevant fears and exclaims:-

صد قیامت در لورده نفس خون گشته است من زخامی در فشار بیم فردایم هنوز 5.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 392

2. Ibid p. 359

3. Ibid p. 394

4. Ibid p. 401

5. Ibid p. 464

This verse tells us that every breath of the Present is fraught with hundred calamities yet man is still afraid of the Future. In other words, it seems to suggest to us that we should take care of the Present because, by doing so, we shall not only be dispelling the fears of tomorrow but also setting the future aright. Ghālib knows full well that the best way to get rid of trouble is to face it with reason and courage. Most of our fears are the products of our own mind and subsist with us so long as we do not face reality. Hence he declares:-

بی تکلف در بلا بودن به از بیم بلاست قهر دریا سبیل و روی دریا آتش است 1.

"It is better to plunge forthwith into calamity rather than be obsessed of it. The bottom of the sea is the spring of Paradise while its surface is fire."

Although Ghālib believes in reason as an effective weapon to overcome our difficulties but he does not compel us to apply our thinking to remote issues. Finding man incapable of solving the riddle of existence, Ghālib commends the use of our senses in enjoying the wonder and beauty of the world. He invites us to concentrate on physical beauty that would reveal the hidden meaning also

عالم آینه راز است چه پیدای نمان تاب اندیشه نداری بنگاهی دریاب
گر بمعنی نرسی جلوه صورت چه کم است خم زلف و شکن طرف کلاهی دریاب 2.

'The world whether apparent or concealed, is a mirror of secrets. If you do not have the power of meditation, acquire it from a glance. If you can not arrive at the

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 385

2. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 377

meaning, is the splendour of the form any worse?

Acquire the curl of the lock and the fold in the rim of the cap.

In another ghazal, he repeats the invitation with a direct appeal to our senses.

سحر دمیده و گل در دیدارنت مخپ	جان جان گل نظاره چیدارنت مخپ
مشم را بشمیم گل نوازش کن	نسیم غایب ما در وزیرنت مخپ
نشاط گوشش بر آواز قفل است بیا	بیار چشم بر راه کشیدارنت مخپ
نشان زندگی دل دودارنت یارنت	جلای آینه چشم دیدارنت مخپ
ز دیده سود حریفان کشودارنت بسند	ز دل مراد عزیزان پیدارنت مخپ 1.

The close resemblance of these verses to those of Hāfiz has already been referred to in the third chapter and hence needs no repetition on this occasion. Attention must, however, be drawn to an additional quality of these verses that even surpasses Hāfiz, namely the quality of stimulating our action. The dynamic character of this ghazal, especially of the last two verses is seldom found in Hāfiz but it is the central quality of Ghālib's poetry. His inexhaustible energy for action is felt throughout. In another ghazal he declares:-

من سراز پانشاسم بره سخی و سپهر
 مردم انجام مرا جلوه آماز دهد 2.

"I hardly distinguish the head from the foot on the path of endeavour while the sky all the time attributes the splendour of beginning to my acts of completion".

Enough has been said on the practical value of Ghālib's poetry

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nazm* p. 379

2. *Ibid* p. 437

and its unique power of stimulating our thought and action on the one hand and of creating confidence and will-power on the other. A great poet as he is, I believe and hope that his poetry will invariably serve as an unexplored ocean for new generations that will continue to bring out fresh pearls of meaning from its unfathomable depths. In face of growing pressure of the present age that has revolutionized the older view of the whole cosmic order as well as our moral and theological concepts, it is becoming more and more difficult to evolve a corresponding philosophy of life that could answer faithfully to the changed situation and restore the earlier faith that had made life 'transparently meaningful' to our ancestors. A number of people from some of the most advanced countries are falling back upon religion to escape the new challenge; and religion is now dictating its own terms and demanding unconditional surrender from these hard-pressed refugees. It gives no assurance. It commits itself to nothing. "As Jesus walked on the water", writes Professor Huston Smiths, "So must the contemporary man of faith walk on the sea of nothingness, confident even in the absence of rational supports."¹ Looking forth at this crisis of the 'post-modern' man', Ghālib seems to smile on his efforts when he says:-

دولت بخلط نبود از سعی پشیمان شو کافر نتوانی شد ناچار مسلمان شو 2.

"Fortune is never misplaced, regret the attempt

(Since) you could not be an unbeliever, be therefore a
Muslim per force."

1. SPAN, June 1962 p.13.

2. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 518.

The point that I am struggling to bring out is this, that in addition to satisfying the requirements of the modern age, Ghālib's poetry has positively a subterranean current of 'post-modern' thinking.

II

For a detailed study of Ghālib's poetry, we must determine the main current of his thinking in order to help us in understanding the nature of his art to which the various offshoots of his poetry may be traced. A passing reference has already been made to REASON while discussing Ghālib's approach to life. Now the basic fact that we have to note is this that just because Ghālib bases his philosophy mainly on reason, we can take him to be a Hellenist and an exponent of the intellectual theory of life as opposed to the moral theory. The factors responsible for this development can be noticed in Ghālib's environment that has been analysed earlier. Summing them up here, we can mention the influence of the contemporary Reformation Movement that was based on a rational approach to religion. Ghālib's own experience of his stay in Calcutta and his friendship with many British Officers there as well as in Delhi played a complementary role in transforming his general outlook. But over and above all these factors, Ghālib's own learning and genius were mainly responsible for the cultivation of a liberal and scientific temperament. A learned man as he was, we expect him to have imbibed the ancient Greek learning through the Eastern channels like Avicenna, Naṣīrud-Dīn Ṭūsī, Jalālud-Dīn Dawānī and Husain Waiz Mashifī etc. Even in India, Faizī, a poet of recent

times and for that matter closer to Ghālib, had given a brilliant exposition of hellenistic ideas in his poetry that served as a guide to Ghālib. I will now devote myself to prove this assertion by citing internal evidence from Ghālib's poetry and then press it forward to account for the subsequent trends of his poetry. Writing in praise of Mu'azzamu-Dawla, he refers to the relation that exists between reason and his poetry.

در سخن عقل مدح خوان منست	در حضر من شاگرد عظم
عقل دلداره بیان منست	من ز خود رفته رسائی عقل
در ره مدح همگان منست	هان و هان گرچه عقل دور پیش
مخسود خود و زبان منست	لیک از روی رشک هم سخن
عقل در بند امتحان منست	من عیار خرد می گیرم
عقل گوید که هم از آن منست	صبر از غیب در دم بریزند
گویم آدرده بنان منست	هر چه دانش ز خاک انگیزد
کین متاع است کمر و کان منست	من سخن گوی و عقل گرم نزاع
کین حدیث است کز زبان منست 1	عقل اندیشه را و من لغفان

'In art, I am the admirer of Reason,
and in poetry Reason is my admirer.
I am astounded by the grasp of Reason,
and Reason is fascinated by my statement.
Lo and behold, though far-sighted Reason
is my companion in the path of praise
Yet, on account of poetic jealousy
it is concerned with its own gain and (seeks) my loss.
I am continuously assaying Reason
and Reason is engaged in testing me.
Whatever is brought to my mind from the Invisible
Reason claims it to be its own.

Whatever Reason brings from the pen
 I claim it to be a creation of my fingers.
 I compose poetry and Reason disputes
 that these goods belong to its shop.
 Reason produces ideas and I cry
 that this is a statement which belongs to my tongue.

His best and most pronounced view on reason is to be found in Mughannināma. This poem lays great emphasis on reason and gives a clear insight into Ghālib's ideas in this regard. Singing the praise of reason, he looks at it from different angles and brings into bold relief the various roles that it can play in shaping the human destiny. There can be no stronger proof of Ghālib's great faith in reason than the following verses of Mughannināma.

بود بسگی را کشاد از خرد	سر مرد خالی مباد از خرد
خرد همیشه زندگانی بود	خرد را پیری جوان بود
فروغ سحرگاه روحانیان	جراغ شبستان یونانیان
نظر آشنای روی داناییش	عمل روشناس توانایش
ز اندیشه دم زد نظر نام یافت	بگردار رفت از اثر کام یافت
چنان سقوطش را زبون خشم و آزر	که فرمان او برده گرگ و گراز
غضب را نشاء شجاعت دهد	ز خواهش بعفت قناعت دهد
باندازه زور آزمائی کند	خورد باده و پارسائی کند
بدین جنبش از گرگ نشد نجات	بر اندیشه پیاید آب حیات
منشای شایسته عادت شود	نظر کیمیای سعادت شود

1.

It is, perhaps, for the first time that an Eastern poet has given a sustained and conscious exposition regarding the invaluable qualities of reason and has claimed it as a basic

guiding factor of his poetry. Yet in spite of his uncompromising devotion to reason, Ghālib does not lack the fire and passion of a great soul without which no real poetry can come into existence. He points out, simultaneously, the tragic role of a poet. His grief 'Gham' represents his ever increasing passion for justice, fairplay and better living for which human beings have been striving from the earliest times. While reason is always in the driver's seat, his grief (gham) is the motive force that keeps the struggle on and bids him put up the continuous set-backs with a smiling face. He goes on in the same poem:-

بدانش غم آموزگار هست	خزان عزیزان بهار هست
غمی که از دل در سرشت هست	بود دوزخ امانت هست
بغم خوشدم نگارم غم است	ببیدارش پرده دارم غم است
زمن جوی در بدنگوز هست	جگر خوردن و تازه روز هست
در شقی بزی زبون داشت	رسد گرستم غزه پنداشت
بجز از درون سو جگر سوختن	بنار از برون سو بخ افروختن
بمکنای رنگ ساز آمدن	ز خود رفتن و زود باز آمدن
ز دل خار غم انگشتن	خسک در گذار نفس ریختن
سمن چیدن و در ره انداختن	دل افشردن و در چه انداختن
بروان کردن از چشم همواره خون	بشورای شستن ز رخساره خون
بر رفتن مرا ز پای نشناختن	بماندن تن از حای نشناختن
شگفتن ز داغی که بر دل بود	نهفتن ز شراری که در دل بود 1.

The manner of life that has been depicted in the above-mentioned verses shows that Ghālib was gifted, in addition to poetic excellence, with the sterling qualities of a great statesman and a profound thinker in the practical field of life. He inspires us,

like a hero, to live a life of dedication to a noble cause, to fight for our ideals, to risk what is near and dear to us and if necessary, to lay down our lives in the pursuit. But all this is to be done under the guidance of reason. The main point to be noted, therefore, in his thought pattern is the intermingling of reason and grief. The line of action that he suggests is not emotional and desperate but flexible and prudent yet sustained and unfailing towards the final achievement. Even in moments of frustration, Ghālib does not look towards any divine power to set things right for him. He is self-reliant. After comparing himself to Nizāmī who had the advantage of Khizr's guidance and accordingly possessed divine inspiration, he says:-

مرا بین که چون مشکل افتاده است چه خونساست کاندل افتاده است
خود از درد بیتاب و خود چاره جو خود آشفتہ مغزو خود افسانہ گو 1.

The third line is to be noted where Ghālib himself assumes the responsibility of finding out the remedy.

Ghālib can well be called to be a bridge between the ancient wisdom and the new knowledge. He stands for all the noble ideals that the ancients loved but differs from them in the manner of achieving those ideals. Here he is a hellenist, refusing to be misled by traditional views and dogmatic thinking. He does not believe in the passive role of the fatalists but depends on his own efforts and thinking. It is precisely on

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 1610

this account that we find him welcoming the British regime and coming forward with warm tributes to its rulers. In fact, he saw no life in the Mughal empire. India required new blood that was being infused by the British capitalist order. Ghālib was fortunate to see Calcutta, the citadel of this 'Brave new world' with his own eyes. He was anxious to see the blessings of science and technology for his own people who were afraid to embrace new ideas and sought their salvation in turning to the past. We are simply amazed to read the maṣnawī written by him as a foreword to 'Āin-i-Akbarī' that was edited by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān. Sir Saiyid was an influential person even at that time and was holding a high post at Morādābād. Ghālib did not care for his high position and discouraged him on his work through this maṣnawī. He holds a high opinion of Sir Saiyid's talent but wants it to be channelised into healthier grooves for better and constructive purposes instead of being wasted on such occupation as editing the 'Āin-i-Akbarī', which was no more than 'Murda Parwardan', according to Ghālib. He invites Sir Saiyid's attention to the progress achieved by the British people and enumerates the amenities of science and technology like the steamship, the gramophone, the telegraph and the electricity. Rising above the national and geographical considerations, Ghālib pays glowing tributes to the British people on their contribution to the general welfare of human society and advises Sir Saiyid to popularise their knowledge among the countrymen rather than seek to revive out-of-date books. In the middle of the 19th century when the Indians were still in the after-glow of the great Mughal empire and were not emotionally prepared to accept the changed circumstances, Ghālib wonderfully adjusted himself to the

new set up. Not that Ghālib was ignorant of the glorious past; he was, on the contrary, one of the greatest admirers of all that was Eastern and had the greatest love and regard for the past glory, but he did not allow his emotions to subdue reason. Mark the courage and sincerity as well as the rational out-look reflected in the following lines that are unparalleled, in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Commenting on Sir Saiyid's editing of Āin-i-Akbarī, he declares:-

در وفا اندازه دان خود نم	مکنه آئین ریا را دشمنم
جای آن دارم که جویم آفرین	گر بدین کارش گویم آفرین
کس نداند آنچه دانم در سخن	باید آئینان غام در سخن
خواجہ راجہ بود امید انتفاع	کس نخر باشد بگیتی این متاع
تا چه بیند کان بدیدن در غور است	گفته باشند کین گرایی دخواست
چشم بکشا و ندیرین دیر کهن	گر ز آئین می رود با ما سخن
شبیوه و انداز اینان را نگر	صاحبان انگلستان را نگر
آنچه هرگز کس ندیده آورده اند	تا چه آئینها پدید آورده اند
سعی بر پیشیان پیشی گرفت	زین هنرمندان هنر پیشی گرفت
کس نیارد ملک زین داشتن	حق این قومست آئین داشتن
هند را صد گونه آئین بسته اند	داد و دانش را هم پیوسته اند
این هنرمندان ز رخس چون آوردند	آتش کز سنگ بیرون آوردند
دو دشتی را همی راند در آب	تا چه اخسوں خوانده اند اینان بر آب
گر دختان گردون بهامون می برد	گر دختان کشتی بچون می برد
نره گاو واسپ را ماند دختان	غلتک گردون بفتاند دختان
باد و موج این هر دو یکبار آمده	از دختان زورق برقرار آمده
حرف چون طائر بر دانه آوردند	نغمه های زلف از ساز آوردند
در دودم آرد حرف از صد کرده	همین نمی بینی که این دانا کرده
می درخشد باد چون اختر می	می زند آتش بباد اندر می
شمار روشن گشته در شب بی چراغ	رو بلندن کاندان خشنده باغ
در هر آئین صد نو آئین کار بین	کار و بار مردم هتیار بین

همیشه این آئین که دارد روزگار گشته آئین دیگر تویم بار
 هست ای فرزانه بیدار مغز در کتاب انگونه آئینهای نوز
 چون چنین گنج گهر نیست کسی خوشه زان خرمن چراچند کسی
 طرز خویش اگر گوی خوش است بی فرون از هر چه بخوی خوش است
 هر خوشی را خوشتری هم بوده است گر سری هست افزای هم بوده است
 مبداء فیاض را مستورین نور بریزد رطب عازان نخل
 مرده پروردن مبارک است خود بگوگان نیز چراغ نیت 1.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Muslims had, for a long time stood away from the English education while the Hindūs had responded to the call of persons like Rāja Rām Mohan Roy. The result of the Rāja's Reformation Movement was noticed by Ghālib in Bengāl. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to think, when we read the *maṣnawī*, that Ghālib worked as an important vehicle in transmitting and popularising the new ideas among the Muslims of Northern India. The advice given by him to a great reformer, in the form of this *maṣnawī*, was bound to have fruitful results in future. Sir Saiyid's Reformation Movement and the subsequent formation of M.A.O. College 'Alīgarh, the consequent change in the out-look of the people, more especially the Muslims in favour of the western type of education— all seem to have their roots in this advice.

An element that has been wrongly associated with Ghālib's poetry is mysticism and it requires to be brushed aside at the very outset in order to have a clearer view of his ideas and philosophy. Many writers, especially Hālī and Khālifa Abdul Hakīm

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nazm* p. 115.

have alleged that a notable part of his poetry was mystical. I have already expressed my difference of opinion with Hālī while comparing Nazīrī with Ghālib in the third chapter. As for Khalīfa 'Abdul Hākīm's interpretation of Ghālib's verses, it is no doubt admirable in many respects and shows a keen insight into Ghālib's ideas. Unlike Hālī who was Ghālib's faithful disciple, Khalīfa 'Abdul Hākīm has made a judicious and impartial assessment. It is, however, in respect of Ghālib's mystical verses that he too has stumbled down. Having a soft corner for Islāmic mysticism, he fails to see, or wilfully avoids to point out its out-grown nature in Ghālib's time. He has, likewise, failed to notice the wholly unmystical and ambitious character of Ghālib and his own remarks disassociating himself from mysticism. In fact, while examining the work of a poet we must be able to distinguish clearly between the original ideas that form the main contribution of the writer and the formal and conventional element surrounding the original ideas. A writer, especially a poet, however great he may be, can not disengage himself wholly from the traditional ideas unless he makes a very conscious effort to indoctrinate his readers with a well-planned philosophy. Ghālib wrote a good deal of mystical poetry but it falls within the category of traditional ideas that the contemporary poets were much used to employ as a matter of convention. The poem 'Sāqī-nāma' gives an insight into this conventional mysticism, where Ghālib ridicules Nizāmī over his celestial wine and warns the Sāqī not to be misled by the former's spurious claims in relation to drinking. He then

presents himself as a true drunkard.

بستان سوی خالقاهت برد	باد انظامی ز راحت برد
ستم دیده گردش جام نیست	فریش بخور چون می آتنام نیست
سپهری روشنی بسا فی گری	خود او راست از پاراگوئی
بارایشش نادر خواند ترا	درع پیشه مسکین چه داند ترا
1. گرم نیل و چون دمی در کشم	رضا جوی من شو که سفر کشم

It does not require any deep thinking to understand and recognize the conventional treatment of mysticism at Ghālib's hands. His poetry, on such occasions, falls short of the usual heights of its intellectual level and shrinks down into hackneyed symbols and poor expressions. His first maṣnawī entitled 'Surma-i-Bīnīsh may be taken as an example. Written in imitation of the great maṣnawī of the Mawlawī, it is devoted exclusively to the mystical and saintly qualities of Bahādur Shāh Zafar. The poem is shallow and unpleasing and harps on the spiritual qualities that the king never possessed. He is depicted as instructing his disciples the method of divine love through the dead symbols that are elucidated by the poet in the following manner.

حفظ ناموس نزلت بوده است	معنی رمزی که نشه فرموده است
رفع او عام است و نفی ما سوا	رفتن کاشانه و صحن سرا
سعی در تحصیل اشراق است و بس	مدعا تهذیب و اخلاق است و بس
جذب با شد که از حق در رسد	وان خود آرا دلبری که در رسد
2. مطلب از محبت آتار دوست	رفتن عاشق با استقبال دوست

But very often Ghālib himself hits back on such poetry and

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 162.

2. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 72.

passes sneering remarks. In Sāqīnāma he gives a mystical conception of the world but soon after he throws aside the cloak of mysticism and comes out in his true colours.

خوشت باد غالب برآرد آمدن	نواسخ قانون راز آمدن
بگیتی مگر حرف دیگر نماند	و یا خود ترا خوشی در سر نماند
چه زان راز پنهان نوا برکشی	که چون باز پرسند دم درکشی
تصوف نریدد سخن پیش را	سخن پیشه زندگیز اندیشه را
نشان مبد این روشنائی نه	غزل خوان دی غورسائی نه

1. نشان مبد این روشنائی نه

A number of verses are found in Ghālib's ghazals and qaṣīdās that contain mystical ideas. The opening lines of his qaṣīdās often deal with a mystical theme but sooner or later he gives it up in distaste. Mention may here be made of some verses of another maṣnawī entitled 'Chirāgh-i-Dair' that Ghalib wrote in his early age while he was on his way to Calcutta. It is based on the thrilling experience of the poet when he stayed for some time in Benāres and is, therefore, a representative piece of Ghālib's true poetry. We can easily mark the difference of emotional power and ease of expression pervading such poetry and the one mentioned earlier. Being still young and susceptible to feminine charms, Ghālib depicts a lively and colourful picture of the fair maidens of the city and is enraptured in their enchanting surroundings. In describing their charm and attraction, he brings his poetic genius into full play and gives an exceedingly sensuous depiction that portrays him more a heathen than a mystic

poet.

ز نادانی بکار خویش دانا	میانها نازک و دلها توانا
دهنبار شک گلزار بر بیعت	تبسم بکد در لبها طبیعت
خرامی صد قیامت فتنه در مار	ادای یک گلستان جلوه بر شار
بنار از خون عاشق گرم دوتر	بلطف از موج گوهر نرم روتر
بپای گلبنی گسترده دای	ز انگیز قد انداز خرامی
ببار بستر و نوروز آغوش	ز رنگین جلوه ها غارتگر هوش
بتان بت پرست و برهن سوز	ز تاب جلوه خویش آتش افروز
ز تاب رخ چهره انان لب گنگ	بسامان در عالم گلستان رنگ
بهر موجی نوید آبروی	رسانده از ادای شست و شوی
ز رخگان بر صف دل نزه بازان	قیامت قاتمان رخگان درازان
سرا پا خرده آسایش دل	بتن سرمایۀ افزایش دل
ز لغزی آب را بخنیده اندام	بمستی موج را فرموده آرام
ز ماهی صد درخش در سینه تاب	قناده خویشی در قالب آب
ز موج آغوشها وای کند گنگ	ز بس عرض نماید کند گنگ
1. گرها در صد فنا آب گشته	ز تاب جلوه ها بیتاب گشته

Then suddenly the poem takes a turn and Ghālib is reminded of his mission for which the journey was undertaken. He pledges to turn his face away from the alluring atmosphere and to follow the arduous path with greater determination and courage. The following lines mark the rising tempo of his ambition and restlessness which is the chief characteristic of his poetry. No greater and more fulsome expression of the intense feelings of an enterprising youth is possible than what is found in the following verses

تیرای یخز کار بست در پیش بیابانی و کمار بست در پیش

چو سیلابت شتابان میتوان رفت	بیابان در بیابان میتوان رفت
ترازانده مجنون بود باید	خراب کوه و هامون بود باید
تن آسانی بستاراج بلا ده	چو بینی رنج خود را رونما ده
هوس را سر ببالین فنا ده	نفس را از دل آتش زیر پا نه
دل از تاب بلا گذار و خون کن	زدانش کار کشاید جنون کن
نفس تا خود فرو نشیند از پای	دی از جاده بجائی میاسای
شرار آسافنا آماده بر خیز	بیفشان دامن و آزاده بر خیز

Another extract from a qasida that Ghālib wrote in

'Manqibat' may be reproduced here to illustrate his extremely ambitious and stubborn nature. In sharp contrast to stoical and mystical tendencies, it is a powerful expression of the poet's lust for life and his defiance of every challenge that springs from its rugged and rough path.

روان ز غم و سفالیت در گذر گرسنگ	خرد ز فتنه چو غایت در گذر گرسنگ
ز جوش خون جگر دیده کوزه صباغ	ز سوز داغ درون سینه کوره عداغ
گزارش هوسم نوبهار در دیاه	گزارش نفسم آفتاب در مرداد
مرا چو سایه سیاه است روز و شب تاریک	مرا چو شعله معاش است دود و داغ معاد
✓ کبود پوشم و قرطاس پیرهن سازم	گهی باتم دانش گهی بحسرت داد
نفس بلرزه ز باد نمیب کلکتہ	نگاه خیره ز هنگامه از آباد
توای ستاره ندای کریمم از آزار	توای سپهر نسبی که ترم از بیدار
ترا غمیت بسرمایه گرانی کوه	مرا دمیست نیروی تیشه فرهاد
من و بلای تو قطع ایدم و تاب سبیل	من و جفای تو شگارد و سیلی استاد
فغان و حوصله دل شراره و خار	نبار و ناصیه بخت جوهر و فولاد
من و ستم دل بنجور و انفات طیب	من و خطر رگ مجنون و لشتر فصاد

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 87.

2. Ibid p. 199.

These extracts amply illustrate that Ghālib hardly possessed a mystical trend of mind. We, however, find occasional versification of mystical ideas that he did by way of convention or sometimes to humour the Mughal King. On the contrary, there are powerful and spontaneous pieces of poetry dealing with sensuous and concrete subjects that stand out in sharp contrast with his so-called mystical poetry. These pieces record the high water mark of the most voluptuous and intensely ambitious poetry that has ever been written in the Persian language. The mystic recedes in the background giving place to an excited pagan with ruffled passions.

Ghālib's religious out-look too, like his personality, is rather complicated. He was himself, at times, confounded by the strange and divergent predilections of his mind in relation to religion and we can use his own words to express an opinion.

کاری بجز افتاده بدین شیفته مارا مون نبود غالب و کافر نتوان گفت 1.

'We are in strange difficulty with this mad person.

Ghālib is neither a Muslim nor can he be called an unbeliever.

A channelisation of his religious ideas is, however, possible by co-relating his reactions and attitudes in this respect after a thoughtful study of his works. We can say that Ghālib was a religious man in the sense that he believed

in God and loved the Prophet and his family. In addition to the devotional references to the members of the Prophet's family that are scattered all over his verses, there are nine poems written on Hazrat 'Alī and other Imāms.¹ These poems are marked by true pathos and a tenderness of feelings that could spring from proven sincerity alone. But his attitude towards God can by no means be deemed to be that of a devout Muslim. Here he appears to be a sceptic or at best a Muslim whose religious out-look is of extremely matter-of-fact type and too liberal. For instance, he is unwilling to accept the universal theory propounded by almost every religion including, of course, Islām, that every person is to be held personally responsible for all his sins, sorrows and sufferings in all circumstances. He must, therefore, repent on his doings and beg mercy from Almighty God. Ghālib does not seem to follow this line of thinking. On the contrary, he looks upon man as an aggrieved and oppressed party and pleads on his behalf. The misuse and exploitation of talent, the unfulfilled desires of flesh and blood, the economic inequality and disorder of human society resulting in the moral and spiritual deterioration— all raise their heads before him and he comes forward as a champion to seek redress in the Divine Presence. Speaking with conviction and courage, he assails the kingdom of God, finding faults with the system of His administration and lashing out at its supposed loopholes. The following long extract which I am tempted to quote from his *Munājāt*, shows him as one making his complaints. We may or may not subscribe to his religious views but the case that he has so brilliantly put forward and

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm* p. 47-60

logically argued can hardly fail to elicit admiration and
applause from all quarters. He seeks permission from God to
speak in self-defence

چون گویم بران گفته ز نهار ده	مرا نیز یارای گفتار ده
بود بنده خسته گنج گوی	درین خستگی پوزش از من بجوی
چو نگفته دانی نه گفتن چه سود	دل از غصه خون شد نفقش چه سود
بخت آرد چه گفتارم آواز تست	زبان گرچه من دارم آواز تست
پرستار خورشید و آذر نیم	صفا تو دانی که کافر نیم
ز بدم ز کس مایه در رهزنی	نکشم کسی را باهر بینی
بهنگامه پرواز مودم از دست	گری که آتش بگورم از دست
چه میکردم ای بنده پرورد خدا	من اندوهگین و می انده ربا
ز بخشید و بهرام و پرویز جو	حسابی در امش و رنگ و بو
دل دشمن و چشم بد سوختند	کز اباده تا چهره افزود خند
بدریوزه رخ کرده باشم سیاه	نه از من که از تاب گئی گاه گاه
نه دستان سزای نه جانا نه	نه بستان برای نه میخانه
نه نوحای راسنگران در رباط	نه رقص پری پیکران بر رباط
سحرگر طلبکار خونم شدی	شبانه بگی رهنمونم شدی
تقاضای بیسوده می فروشی	نمای معشوقه باده نوشی
ز عمر گر انایه بر من گذشت	چه گویم چو هنگام گفتن گذشت
بساز و بهاران بر بی بادگی	بساز و بهاران بدلدادگی
که بود دست بی بی بخشم سیاه	بساز و بهاران و شبهای ماه
سفالینه جام من از می تمی	انقضا پر از ابر بهمن می
در خانه از بینوائی فرار	بهاران و من در غم برگ و یاز
بسر مایه جوی ز بیایگان	بنساز و گاری ز همسایگان
نب از خاک بوس خشان چاک چاک	سر از منت ناکسان زیر خاک
دل را اسیر صوا داشتی	بگیتی درم بینوا داشتی

نه بخشنده شاهی که بایم دهد
 که چون پیل زانجا بر انگیز می
 نه نازک نگاری که نازش کشم
 چو زان غمزه نیشی بدل بر خورد
 بدان غمناخوش که من داشتم
 چو دل زین صومعه بگوش آیدی
 صنوبرم همان دل بخوش اندر است
 چو آن نادادی بسیار آیدم
 دل را که کمتر شکید بسباغ
 صبحی خرم گم گزاسب طمیر
 دم شبر و یسای مستانه کو
 دران پاک میخانه بخودش
 سیمستی ابر و باران کجا
 اگر خور در دل خیالش که چه
 چه منت نهد ناشناسا نگار
 گریزد دم پوسه اینش کجا
 بر د حکم وجودش تلخ گوی
 نظر بازی و ذوق دیدار کو
 نه چشم آرزو مند دلاک
 ازینما که پیوسته بخوارست دل
 چه پریشش رگی را بکاود ز دل
 بهر جرم کز روی دفر رسد
 بغرمای کین دادری چون بود
 هر آینه همچو منی را ببند
 بهر بار زریسپیل بایم دهد
 زرش برگدایان خود ریزی
 بهر بوسه زلف درازش کشم
 رگ جان غم نوک نشتر خورد
 ز جان خار در پیرهن داشتم
 ز دل باگ غم بگوش آیدی
 ز دل باگ غم بگوش اندر است
 بغردوس هم دل نیاسایدم
 در آتش چه سوزی بسوزنده داغ
 کجا زهره مسج و جام بلور
 بهنگامه غوغای مستانه کو
 چه گنجائی شورش نا و نوش
 خزان چون نباشد بهاران کجا
 غم مجروح ذوق وصالش که چه
 چه لذت دهد دل بی انتظار
 فریب بد بگویند و نیش کجا
 دهد کام و نبود رش کام جوی
 بغردوس روزن بدیوار کو
 نه دل تشنه ماه پر کاره
 صنوبرم همان حسرت آلاست دل
 دو صد دجله غم تراود ز دل
 زمین حسرتی در برابر رسد
 که از جرم من حسرت افزون بود
 تلافی فراخور بود نی گزید 1.

Ghālib gives vent to our suppressed feelings without fear of convention and boldly complains against the suppression of our instinctive urges. The love for physical beauty and the desire for physical satisfaction are generally curbed by conventional morality. Puritanic philosophies are an additional element working against the healthy and fuller enjoyment of life and diverting our attention towards ethereal pleasures. Ghālib prefers the physical pleasures to the ethereal pleasures of Paradise. By appraising God with his real feelings in a language that is respectful, yet hazardous, he gives a blow to the Hebrew conception of God that inspires awe and keeps us blind and mute with our heads downwards in His Presence. Ghālib's God is merciful, patient and what is more important, can stand opposition and criticism. The God of Hebrew prophets, strictly awful and proud has become flexible, tolerant and graceful in Ghālib's interpretation. There is no other poet except Khayyām—and he too only made casual remarks—who has so logically and boldly criticised the administrative set up of heaven for its draw-backs and failures to provide a fair deal to all human beings. Ghālib upholds and defends his own short-comings and weaknesses and thus, he indirectly becomes a successful pleader of the oppressed peoples of all times. Addressing God he declares:-

1. هفت دوزخ در نهاد ترمساری مفرات انتقام است این که باجم مدارا کرده

Here Ghālib's sympathies are unmistakably with the sinner's repentance and not with divine pardon.

Ghālib is a shrewd observer of human motives and actions

and his poetry is like an extremely sensitive instrument that records the inner-most vibrations of our sub-conscious mind with accuracy. Different types of character—wicked, opportunists and hypocrites throng the screen. Delicate tendencies of mind are placed, as it were, on a microscope and we see the vast and unexplored regions of human psychology. For instance, many a good that is done, is ill-intentioned but it generally passes unnoticed. The nature of such action is laid bare by Ghālib's revealing power. He remarks:-

دید پر رخت و از قفسم کرد آزاد رزم در فطرت ظالم ستم ایجاد آمد

Yet another ugly feature of our social set-up has been depicted in the following verse. It indicates that law is distorted to suit the interest of the oppressor.

بر در یار چه غوغاست عزیزان بروید خونها زرد سبک دستی جلاد آمد

Some verses showing Ghālib's amazing psychological insight and his keen observation of human impulses and behaviour are quoted below:-

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 3. من سوی او بستم داند ز بیجایست | او سوی من نیلند دامن ز زنگینست |
| 4. چه عیش از وعده چون باور ز عنوانم می آید | بنوی گفت می آیم گرمی دامن نمی آید |
| خواهش وصل خود از غیر ز اخلاق سنج | کین گدایست بدریوزه درها گسخت |
| 5. شاد گردم که بخلوت ز رسید است رقیب | بینش چون بتو در راه گذرها گسخت |

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 429

2. Ibid p. 429

3. Ibid 383

4. Ibid 427

5. Ibid p. 414

گر پس از جور با صاف گزاید چه عجب از حیا روی با گزینماید چه عجب
 بودش از شکوه خطر در نری داشت بزارم اگر از مهر نباید چه عجب
 شیشه صا دارد دمن معتقد خوی دیم شوقم از رخش او گزینماید چه عجب 1.

Ghālib's inclination towards reason and his consequent habit of rationalisation had its undesirable repercussions too. He developed a personality that could hardly be approved of as commendable in all respects. He became a little too realistic, practical and ambitious in life showing sometimes machiavellian tendencies. His pro-British attitude in the War of Independence and his admiration, partly genuine no doubt, of the British rulers were the outcome of the same trait. We find him unfair to his wife, relentless and unbending towards the enemies and proud and intolerant in controversies. His poetry is marked by the strength and diplomacy of his character, which, sometimes, as in the case of his love poetry, appear harsh and unpleasing but we must not overlook that it is precisely on account of certain otherwise good qualities that Ghālib does not prove to be a faithful lover. In fact he was much too wise and strong to be a whole-hearted lover. An additional factor responsible for this attitude might be the influence of the Mughal poets who practised artificial love themselves. The tender feelings of true pathos are as much absent in Ghālib as they were in the Mughal poets but the absence of pathos in Ghālib's poetry is due to his strong and self-respecting character while in the Mughal poets, its reason might be simply their artifice. Ghālib sets a new and healthy standard of love by rejecting the meek and submissive

behaviour of the lover. It must be noticed that, as a lover, he does not altogether surrender himself before the beloved. He takes a bold stand to maintain his individuality and avails himself of all the means at his disposal, whether right or wrong, to resist outside pressure. He not only guards his honour and dignity but also asserts himself before the beloved. This should not, however, be regarded as lack of passionate feelings or emotions on his part. Ghālib was extremely sensitive too, and on that account a lover of feminine beauty but he was not prepared to surrender his self-respect or to subordinate other interests to its pursuits. Retrospecting over the blind love of his early youth, he repents over his desperate steps.

1. بیایان محبت یاد می آرم زمانی را که دل عهد وفا نبسته دادم دستانی را

Again referring to the blazing fire of his passion he remarks:-

2. دل دارم که در عتکاده شوق سرشش دوزخ است و گوهر آتش

Later on, with the development of his personality he was able to adopt a mature attitude towards love and instead of being a slave to passionate impulses, he began to use his head. This change must normally happen to all educated and experienced minds but in the East, it has, somehow, been regarded as unconventional and strange for poetry and therefore it is not allowed to find expression in the form of words. Thus we find almost every poet, irrespective of age and ideas harping on, and exaggerating about the sentiments of faithfulness and fidelity that makes him appear servile and even ridiculous in relation to his beloved. Ghālib himself not, of course, infrequently, falls a prey to this

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 366.

2. Ibid p. 469.

conventional practice but that is not his characteristic attitude. As a whole, he does not approve of such cringing. He rather looks with disdain on the impoverished personalities of such lovers. Condemning too much faithfulness, he attacks Farhād, the fabulous hero of Persian romance

1. ننگ فرهادم بفرسنگ از وفا دور افتد عشق کافر شغل جان دادن بزدور افتد

The idea reappears in an Urdu verse also

2. عشق و مزدوری عشرت گر خسرو کیا خوب ہم کو منظور کنو نامی فریاد نہیں

"It is silly that love should become a labourer in the luxury-palace of Khusraw. We do not approve of the fame of Farhād".

It follows, therefore, that being possessed of a mature mind, Ghālib looks upon the qualities of faithfulness and consistency from a different angle. He knows that sentiments of devotion and faithfulness in love spring from the frenzy of youth which is in itself a passing phase of life. Since the basic thing is the frenzy of youth, it must be given reasonable outlet instead of being hampered by conventional morality. Faithfulness, consistency and over-devotion to one's beloved are only a sort of idealization of biological urges on a lesser platonic plane. Since Ghālib was never conventional in thinking, he rejected the stereotyped and seemingly pious notions about love. This was his attitude right upto the old age. He was a great lover in his youth and had engagements with ladies,³ but rightly or wrongly he could never be consistent in love. Writing to Mirzā Hātim 'Alī Beg, he declares:-

کسی کے مرنے کا وہ غم کرے جو آپ نہ مرے کیسی اتک افشانی کہاں کی ریشہ خوانی آزادی کا شکر بجاؤ
غم نہ کھاؤ اور اگر ایسے ہی اپنی گرفتاری سے خوش ہو تو چا جان نہ سہی مانا جان سہی میں جب بہشت کا

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 336

2. Dīwān-i-Ghālib p. 186 (Ārshī edition)

3. See page 135

نصرت کرنا ہوں اور سوچتا ہوں اگر مغفرت ہوگئی اور ایک قصر ملا اور ایک حور ملی اقامت جاودانی ہے اور اسی ایک
نیک بخت کے ساتھ زندگانی ہے اس تصور سے جی گھبراتا ہے اور کلیجہ منہ کو آتا ہے ہے وہ حور اجرن ہو جائے گی طبیعت کیوں
نہ گھبرائے گی وہی زمین کاخ وہی طوبی کی ایک شاخ چشم بد دور وہی ایک حور بھائی ہوشش میں آؤ کہیں اور دل لگاؤ ۔

1. زن تو کن ای دوست در ہر بہار کز تقویم پارینہ ناید بکار

"Others' death should be mourned by one who is not to die himself. Why shedding of tears and lamentation. Thank freedom and do not feel sorry. If, however, you are so pleased with your bondage then there is Munnājān in place of Chunnājān. Whenever I imagine Paradise and think, provided I am blessed by God, to get a palace as eternal abode with a virgin of Paradise to pass life with that pious figure alone, I get upset with the idea and feel my liver coming out. Oh that virgin of Paradise will turn out to be a drudgery. Why shall I not feel bored. The same emerald palace, the same single bough of 'Tūbā' and the same virgin of Paradise, be the evil eye away from her. Brother, come to senses, get yourselves interested elsewhere.

Marry a new woman in every spring O friend

For the old adjustment does not serve the purpose.

Ghālib's mistress is also highly intelligent and rather mischievous. We can have a full picture of her personality in Ghālib's verses although she hardly appears physically before us. Ghālib, perhaps, considers physical description to be a crude art

and uses his pencil in depicting the style and the expression only. This depiction is finer and more suggestive than the physical one. The beauty of the following verse can hardly be overestimated where a single stroke of pen serves to flash a highly colourful picture.

1. ادایست او را که از دلربائی نفتن ز شوقی باطن را ماند

Again we are shown a restless figure like lightening ransacking heavens and earth. No physical description is supplied.

2. آنکه چون برق سبکبای گیرد آرام گدازش در دل اگر دیر نباید چه عجب

There are, on the other hand, a number of verses that reveal the personality of the beloved. For instance, the following verse shows that even very great sacrifices from the lover fail to impress her.

3. جان خود بازی میبرد دین را و جوی نشود بنمودش دین غده زد آردش جان خوش نکرد

She has a very complex and colourful personality and can face delicate situations with confidence and ease. She can also give different meanings of one and the same behaviour to contending lovers.

4. باعد و متابستی در نشن محالستی و چه در این ایامت می چه حالت نیست

In addition to being cultured and smart, she knows how to deal with her suitors and keeps an eye on their motives and intentions. A seemingly sympathetic pose is depicted in the following verse when she gives patient hearing to the lover.

5. غم شنیدن او الحق بخود فرد بردن خوشتر است از چه سادگی کار است

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm p. 447.

2. Ibid p. 378

3. Ibid p. 449

4. Ibid p. 389

5. Ibid p. 386.

Being a bit of a diplomat in her dealings, she pays little attention to those, who falling blindly in love with her, surrender themselves and she devotes herself more to agitators and trouble-makers in a bid to pacify them or if possible, to win them over by her fascinating manners.

هرزه میرم بشمرد وز بی تعلیم رقیب بوفایم بنگیم گز استاید چه عجب 1.

The fact that she accomodates Ghālib easily when he creates nuisance is sometimes baffling to Ghālib. Being unable to account for this apparently un-natural behaviour he exclaims:-

دی مگر مست بوده کاروز شکرم از شکوه ناگوار تراست
ایکدخوی تو بجز روی تو نیست دیده از دل امیدوار تراست 2.

Thus we find in Ghālib's ghazal the personality of the lover and the beloved equally great and many-sided. Both of them want to assert themselves on each other to the extent that their mutual love-affair seems to take the shape of a cold war where tact and diplomacy are the common weapons. Hence Ghālib whispers to us:-

من آن نیم که دگر میتوان فریفت مرا فربخش که مگر میتوان فریفت مرا 3.

"I am not one who can be deceived a second time.

I befool her by giving an impression that I can be befooled."

It follows, therefore, that we must always be suspicious of Ghālib's intentions. Every attitude that he puts on, is not necessarily the expression of his inner feelings. This may be

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 378

2. Ibid p. 408

3. Ibid p. 362

in answer to his mistress's similar nature. Finding her clever and opportunist he suggests to her purely time-serving tricks to be employed against the rival lovers. For instance, he appeals to his mistress to join him after deserting other lovers on the following argument

1. زما گستی و بادگران گرو بستی بیا که عمد و فانیست استوار بیا

"You broke away from me and pledged with others.

Come forth, for the pledge of fidelity is not strong, come forth."

Ghālib's another and more artistic verse in Urdū is also based on the same idea.

2. رشک کہتا ہے کہ اُس کا غیر سے اخلاص جیف عقل کہتی ہے کہ وہ بے ہر کس کا آشنا

Sometimes we come across verses that have genuine pathos and sincerity.

3. رفتہ بودی دگر کہا بس سخن سازی غیر منت از بخت کہ خاموشی مایہ آمد

But who can guarantee for Ghālib that his silence is not feigned but a real manifestation of heart-felt grief.

Ghālib's shrewd and dignified attitude in love might be said to miss the depth of feeling and pathos which is generally a characteristic feature of adolescence, but examined on a higher plane it has a broader meaning and is capable of wider application in life. With its arguments, haggings and diplomatic moves it teaches us the technique of effective dealings in life and has a practical bearing on our conduct. We learn to live like a strong

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 363

2. Dīwān-i-Ghālib, 'Arshī edn. p. 149

3. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 429

and practical man as Ghālib himself was. It is in such perspective that the power and grasp of Ghālib's love poetry can be fully appreciated. Notice his sense of dignity and self-respect so conspicuously absent in any other oriental poet.

میرم ولی بر رسم کز فرط بدگمانی دانم که جان سپردن از عاقبت گزین نیست

"I am dying but I fear lest, due to suspicion, she might take the laying down of my life as an act of seeking refuge.

Chapter VI

Style and Diction.

I have already mentioned the fact that the early upbringing of Ghālib took place in the aristocratic environment. In addition to his affluent youth, he was gifted with a strikingly beautiful and impressive personality too. These two factors naturally paved the way for his aristocratic and assertive behaviour in relation to others including the fair sex. Like Byron, he must have been a hero of many a young admirers of the opposite sex. His poetry bears ample testimony to this assumption. Writing in a qaṣīda he exclaims:-

با من که تاب ناز نکویان ندا شتم
بند کرد بند که جور و جفا کرد روزگار 1

"To me, who could not stand the coquetry of the fair ones,
The world wronged in doing injury and oppression".

Reference may here be made to a striking ghazal which bears an allusion towards a certain lady, perhaps professional, who, on being summoned by the king, primarily came to Ghālib to make love with him.

ناخوانده آمد صبح بدم قبله شش بی گره
و ندر طلب منشور نشسته کشوده عنوان در بغل 2

"Uninvited she came at dawn with her garment unbuttoned,
Carrying in her arm an unopened imperial mandate summoning her."

In the blindness of her passion she did not care for the king's

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 315.

2. Ibid p. 484.

summons and Ghālib too, welcomed her like a bold man even at the cost of the king's rage. The last verse openly mentions the risk involved in the situation.

هان غالب خلوت نشین یمنی چنان عیشی چنین
1 جاسوس سلطان در کین مطلوب سلطان در بغل

The ghazal records the most voluptuous description of Ghālib's love affair which again helps us to visualise the extremely colourful and passionate life that Ghālib once lived. Another ghazal beginning with the following verse

2 بیا که قاعده آسمان بگردانیم
قضا بگردش رطل گران بگردانیم

is also based on the pleasures of physical union with the beloved although it does not contain specific reference to any one. This ghazal embodies one of the finest ecstasies of the poet and can be regarded among his best ghazals. Unfortunately, this happy state of affair did not last very long. His early marriage had already overburdened him and he began to feel the economic pressure more and more. I need hardly recall the many set-backs of Ghālib's life that ultimately placed him in a permanent state of financial troubles. The gradual economic deterioration, however, affected his social status. He was a learned man and a genius of his time, and hence he allured persons from the highest rank and freely moved amongst them.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 484.
2. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 499.

This made him all the more conscious of his pecuniary stringencies because he could not afford to maintain his living of a standard akin to that of his close friends. It was more or less this sense of economic and social inequality resulting in a sort of inferiority complex that led him to emphasise so frequently his genius and noble descent. He was very keen to keep close relations with the house of Lohārū that were rather not very warmly reciprocated.

In fact, his whole life was rather a struggle for the restoration of his social prestige. The pension dispute, the demand for titles from the government, the ambition of becoming the Poet-Laureate of Queen Victoria, all these were manifestations of the same struggle.

It resulted in his striving to become a great poet also and Ekrām has rightly pointed out that our poet aspired to achieve in the realm of letters what he failed to secure in the material world.¹

In the literary domain, however, he found himself surrounded by a host of poetasters and verse-mongers claiming to be authorities with whom he never liked to identify himself. The result was that he strove to keep himself away from the beaten track by attempting to be more and more original, and this resulted sometimes in the production of verses having quaint ideas. This tendency manifested itself in other walks of the poet's life too, the extremity of which can be noticed in a letter that he wrote to a friend declaring that he did not like to die with the common people in an epidemic that had once broken out in Delhi.² He could even give up a noble

1. Ghālīb Nāmā p. 41.

2. Mutālā-i-Ghālīb p.10.

pursuit if it was taken up by those whom he did not like.

۱ سخن کوته مرا خود دل بتوی مائل است زنگ زاهد اقدام بکافر ماجرایها

"In short, I am heartily inclined towards piety, but I fell upon unbeliever's practices because of the infamy of the continent"

This tendency to hunt after uncommon and quaint ideas is found at its highest pitch in his early collection of Urdu ghazals known as 'Nuskha-i-Hamīdyā'. Finding himself still belonging to the common stock of contemporary poets, he, at last, decided to take up the Persian language as the vehicle of his poetic ideas.

✓ Henceforth, from 1822 onwards, he mainly wrote in Persian that was beyond the reach of ordinary poets. Thus he was able to hurl the bitter attack against Zawq who headed the stereotyped school of Urdu poetry.

ای که در بزم شهنشاه فلک رس گفته
کی پیر گوئی فلان در شعر هشتک منت
راست گفتی یک میدانی که نبود جای طعن
کز از بانگ دهل گر نموز چنگ منت
نیست نقصان یک جزو است از سواد ریخته ✓
کمان دژم برگی ز غلستان فرنگ منت
فارسی بین تابیستی نقشهای رنگ رنگ
بگذرد از مجموعه اردو کبی رنگ منت
فارسی بین تابدانی کاندرا قلم خیال

۲ مانی دار زنگم و آن نسو ازنگ منت

Ghālīb not only gained mastery over the Persian language but

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 361

2. Ibid p. 13

also imbibed the spirit of ancient Īrān through it. It was only an affair of a few days back when his great-grandfather had migrated from Central Asia to India and the racial peculiarities were still latent in Ghālib. They were only resuscitated and sharpened by the study of Persian literature with the result that Ghālib developed a close affinity with the ancient Īrānian creed. His deep reverence for Avestā which he rarely parted with, and kept under constant study, resulting in frequent references in his poetry to fire-temples, the religious practices of Zoroastrianism and the glorification of the legendary monarchs of Īrān, can all be traced back to this predilection. We know that he felt partly retrieved in the shape of his poetic achievement for the material loss that he suffered as an aristocrat. He says:-

دانش دگنجینه پنداری یکس است
حق نان داد آنچه پیدا خواستم 1

The feeling of this change-over from riches to wisdom or poetry was made even more comfortable by identifying it with the corresponding change-over in the national history of Īrān. The conquest of Īrān by the 'Arabs brought about the extinction of the national Sāssānian empire along with its wealth and splendour but it was Īrān that ultimately triumphed over the 'Arab conquerors in the cultural and intellectual spheres. It was such over-all identification that had made Ghālib absolutely one with the spirit of Īrān. One of his very characteristics/ ghazals bears unmistakable

evidence in support of my assumption.

مژده صبح درین تیره شبانم دادند
 شمع کشتند و ز غورشید نشانم دادند
 رخ کشوند و لب هرزه مرا بم بستند
 دل ربوند و دو چشمم نگرانم دادند
 سوخت آتشده ز آتش نفسم بخشیدند
 ریخت میخانه ز ناقوس فغانم دادند
 گمرازی را بت شاحان غم برچیدند
 بعوض خاتم گنجینه فشانم دادند
 افسر از تارک ترکان پشتگی بردند
 بسخن ناصیه فرکیانم دادند
 گوهر از تاج گسستند و بدالتش بستند

1. هر چه بردند پیدای بنهانم دادند

It will not be out of place to point out that Ghālib too had a hidden aversion, if not open hostility like Firdawsī, against the 'Arab conquerors that occasionally appeared in an undertone in his verses. The following verse may be noted for instance:-

آن درخشنده درفش که بیخای عرب در زمان عمر از لشکر ایران آمد

"That brilliant banner which was brought over from the Irānian army during the period of 'Umar as a result of the plundering by the 'Arabs".

The mention of the mere name of the second caliph and the emphasis on the glory of the Irānian banner, in sharp contrast to the use of the word 'yaghmā', loot, for the 'Arab armies, all point towards

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 419

2. Ibid p. 335

the same leaning. Subsequently, however, when Ghālīb was planning to write an epic on the 'ghazwāts' of the holy Prophet he attacked on Firdawsī's anti-semitic attitude in the following words.

گذشت آنکه دستنمای کن
 ز کجسود درستم آمد سخن
 منم کم بود در طراز کلام
 شنش پیر سپید امام
 ز فردوسیم کنه انگیز تر
 ز مرغ سحر خوان سحر خیز تر
 فرو مردن شمع ما سانیان
 بود صبح اقبال نورانیان
 رقم سنج مشهور یزدانیم
 ز ایمانیان گویم ایما نیم
 کسی را که نازد بیگانه گان
 خرد در شمارد ز دیوانگان
 باقبال ایمان و نیروی دین
 سخن رانم از سیدالرسولین 1.

But I feel that these verses do not represent the real poet in him. These lines were written by a genius on the decline, who, having lost all fire and frenzy of life, was now preparing ground for the last journey of his soul. Secondly, if such a plan was really intended and there was sufficient creative urge to support it, why did the poet flag and left it incomplete. It was because Ghālīb wanted to write something which lacked the backing of his inherent genius.

Ghālīb was never able to resolve his inner conflict—the

conflict of a proud mind and an empty purse that kept him slightly unbalanced throughout his life and resulted in the fluctuations of his mental attitude. The peculiar circumstances of his life had made him a man of dual personality—the one calculative and self-centered and the other idealistic and broadminded. Had he not been a poet and a thinker, he would have developed a strong machiavellian type of character without suffering any conflict. To be honest, we must admit that Ghālib had many of the representative vices of the decadent feudal class of his time. A careful observer of his life will not fail to see his opportunism, flattery and timeserving tricks, on the one hand and his proud, intolerant and vindictive nature on the other. But at the same time, he was gifted with an extraordinary awareness of the whole social atmosphere and an introspecting and self-realizing mind. This was due to the second aspect of his personality that had the divine spark of poetry and hence, in moments of creation, he was able not only to transcend himself but also to see the blemishes of his own character as well as those of the contemporary society. We find him, at times, frightfully intolerant and harsh towards others, yet, not infrequently, his ferocity is directed against his own self, passing severe strictures on his own conduct. Sometimes, it takes the form of pity, sobbing over his sad plight and feeling as if he was the most wretched and helpless creature. I do not mean that Ghālib was suffering from a conflict that does not occur in the lives of the common educated people but I do say that the reaction of the common people is not like that of Ghālib. Poets are generally hypersensitive. Moreover, They do

not have the advantage of the common people who are engaged in practical pursuits and can thereby channelise their emotional rufflings into some cheerful work. Their work is what Wordsworth describes as 'Emotion recollected in tranquillity'. So there is no question of forgetting the emotional experiences in some other pursuits. They form the main nourishment of poetry and the poet has to stand their fever and excitement. Hence Ghālib declares.

بنیالم از گداز دل در جگر آنشی چو سبیل
1 غالب اگر دم سخن ره بغیر من بری

Being conscious of this tragic role, Ghālib might have reconciled himself to it, if his mind was not frequently disturbed by the external happenings. However popular he might have been in the limited circle of his friends and admirers, the wider intelligentsia made him realise his self-conceited behaviour that did not correspond with reality. For his own part, too, he was a painful observer of the social vices and felt intensely the contrast between the words and the deeds of those who held power and claimed to be ideal persons. All these features of the contemporary society, coupled with the bitter experiences of his own life, made Ghālib's poetry a protest against the then existing moral set-up. The following verse refers to the same pent up feelings.

آن راز که در سینه نهانست نه وعظ است
2 بردار توان گفت و بجز نتوان گفت

"The secret that is hidden in the breast is not a sermon. It can be revealed on the gallows and not on the pulpit."

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 536.
2. Ibid p. 398.

The overall impression, therefore, that one gets from Ghālibs' poetry is that of satire. It has found expression in all forms of his poetry especially those addressed to his rivals. The nature of the satire on such occasions is strictly personal and has a narrow outlook. But, at the same time, it has the qualities of refinement and restraint. The language is urbane and as a whole, we feel a precision in emotional suggestion which is a high quality of the poetic expression. Qitā No. 4, beginning with the following verse is a fine specimen of this kind of satire:-

مکران شعر من هان تا گوی حاسدند
کین قیاس از بهر شان سامان نازی بود¹

Another qitā¹ written on Mawlawī Ahmad 'Alī Ahmad in connection with the controversy over Burhān-i-Qāṭe is also a very interesting piece of satire. Some selected verses are as under:-

مولوی احمد علی احمد تخلص نسو
در خصوص گفتگوی پارس التا کرده است
کیچ و مکران را که در هند است و از ایران جدا
شامل اقلیم ایران بی محابا کرده است
قوم برج را بایرانی نژادان داده خلط
ترک ترکان سرفند و بخسار کرده است
خواج را از اصفهانی بودن آباچه سود
خاقش در کشور بنگاله پیدا کرده است
باقیل و جامع برهان دلاله شکست چند
لابه دسوگری و لطف و مدارا کرده است

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 12

داوری گاهی بنا فرموده در وی هر سه را
 منصف و صدر امین و صدر اعلیٰ کرده است
 گر چنین با صدیان دارد تو لا در سخن
 من هم از خدم چرا از من ترا کرده است
 مطلب از بد گفتن من چیست گویی نیکم
 مزد این کار از حق آمرزش تنها کرده است
 در چنین نبود چنان باشد که در عرض کمال
 تا بر آرم نام این هنگام بر پا کرده است
 میکند تا یزد برهان یک برهان ناپدید
 نیست جز تسلیم قولش هر چه الشاکره است
 بهر من تو همین و بهر خویش تحسین جا بجا
 هم مرا هم خویش را در دهر رسوا کرده است
 غازیان همراه خویش آورده از بهر جماد
 تاننداری که این پیکار تنها کرده است 1.

The poem quoted on page 138 addressed to Zawq is also of the same character but more explicit and direct in treatment than the one discussed above. Ghālib's ghazals and qaṣaid also have a remarkable capacity for satire. Unlike the poems mentioned above, the satirical verses of ghazals and qaṣaid are not related with any personal affair. On the contrary, they have a certain amount of detachment and restraint that make them all the more superior. The following verses are a fine specimen of this kind.

جز در آئینه ندیدم اثر سخی خیال
 هر قدر بهر طلب نگاری انسان رفتم
 ز حق بر نفس اهل طرب ریخته ام
 خواب خوش گفتم و از یاد عزیزان رفتم
 نگفتم نقیب بگنجینه دلها می زن
 مزده باد اهل ریا را که زمیدان رفتم 2.

1. Sabad-i-Chīn p. 49

2. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 308

- گر پس از جور بانصاف گراید چه عجب
 از چای روی بمن گر نماید چه عجب
 بودش از شکوه خطر ورز نری داشت بمن
 1 بزارم اگر از مهر بیاید چه عجب

- بر تنک ما لیم رحم که یک عمر گنا ه
 2 هم بتاراج سبک دستی بخشودن رفت

Satire has never been regarded as the highest quality of poetry and as such Ghālib cannot claim a high position among poets simply on the basis of a powerful idiosyncrasy that expressed itself in the form of satire in relation to the particular episodes of the poet's life. What is more important and of lasting value in Ghālib's poetry is the accumulation of numerous perceptions and emotional experiences that form in their totality a picture of life in his mind and it is in relation to this picture that his personal idiosyncrasy comes into play, resulting in a highly impersonal satire. I am quoting some verses from one of his ghazals on this occasion that seem to me a wonderful example of this satire.

- هر چه فلک نخواست است هیچکس از فلک نخواست
 طرف فقیه می نجست باده ما گزگ نخواست
 غرق بموج تاب خورد تشنه ز جد آب خورد
 زحمت هیچ یک نداد راحت هیچ یک نخواست
 جاه ز علم بی خبر علم ز جاه بی نیاز
 هم محک تو زرنید هم زیر مامک نخواست
 شمشیر دهر بر ملا هر چه گرفت پس نداد
 3 کاتب بخت در خفا هر چه نوشت حک نخواست

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 377.
 2. Ibid p. 392.
 3. Ibid p. 387.

These verses carry one of the highest and most realistic interpretation of life. It is something that the poet has observed deeply and continuously and instead of expressing his isolated reactions outright, he has subjected them to a prolonged intellectual treatment and then fashioned them out into an organic whole. The poet's individual perceptions are subdued to contribute to the magnitude of a single emotional suggestion that encompasses our whole being. It is in this sense that satire, if I can use the word at all, becomes the highest quality of Ghālib's poetry. It has found a sustained expression in his maṣnawī 'Abr-i-Guharbār', and in the tarkīb-band that he wrote on his imprisonment. These poems have been discussed in detail elsewhere and hence I need not repeat them here.

An important aspect of Ghālib's satire is irony. The term applies to such a statement that conveys one meaning to the addressee but quite an opposite meaning to the reader or the listener. Ghālib has frequently used this device in his poetry. A notable piece of irony is his maṣnawī 'Bād-i-Mukhālīf' that I have referred to in the second chapter. Many verses of his ghazals also have a strong ironical tone that puts a sharp edge on the idea. The following verse may be taken as a good example of such irony.

درستم ناحق شناسش گفتن از الصاف نیست
آنگه چندی تکبیر بر حلم خداوندش بود 1.

The poet tells us that it will not be fair to conclude in respect of the beloved's cruelty that she does not believe in God. She has, on the contrary, great confidence in God's forbearance. Another important feature of Ghālib's style is the quality of wit and humour that pervades his whole poetical work. It should be regarded as an off-shoot of his satire. The following verses are worth mentioning in respect of the poet's humorous remarks over the abstinents and religious preachers

ز شنج وجد بذوق نشاء نغمه نیابان
1 مگر بدل گذرد مرگ ناگهانش و لرزد

می بزهاد مکن عرض که این جوهر ناب
2 پیش این قوم بتورا به زمزم نرسد

یارب براهدان چه دمی خلد رایگان
3 جور بنان ندیده و دل خون نکرده کس

Even when some witty idea in connection with the beloved occurs to his mind, Ghālib does not fail to take pleasure in embarrassing her. Thus he remarks:-

شیوه هادارد و من معتقد خوی و ایم
4 شوقم از بخشش او گر بفراید چه عجب

"She feigns disdain and I am a believer in her nature. It will not be surprising if my desire is increased by her displeasure".

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1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 425
 2. Ibid p. 433
 3. Ibid p. 466
 4. Ibid p. 378

Ghālib's humour very often assumes the form of burlesque. One cannot help smiling at the way he gives expression to certain features of love. The element of burlesque in Ghālib comes from the same legacy of the Mughal poetry. The poets of the decadent Mughal period exaggerated about the physical weakness of the lover and its resultant humiliation and suffering to monstrous proportions; but they did it seriously, as though, describing a very noble and brave aspect of the lover's story. Ghālib is different, although he follows in their footsteps and brings into versification the most hackneyed and decadent themes of love. Being extremely fantastic and grotesque, they appear rather strange in view of Ghālib's realistic temperament. He takes them up as traditional themes but, while doing so, he seems to make a mockery of them by magnifying them to yet larger proportions and making them appear still more ridiculous and burlesque. The following verses are especially notable in this connection.

در کشاکش ضعفم نگلسد روان از تن
 1 ایستادن نمی‌میرم هم ز ناتوانی‌هاست
 بسکه فکر معنی نازک همی گاهد مرا
 2 شاهد اندیشه را موی میان خواهد شدن

The events of love are also described in a mock-heroic style that reminds one of Pope's 'Rape of the Lock'.

بجرم تاب ضبط ناله با من داوری دارد
 3 ز شوخی می‌شمارد زیر لب دزدیدن افغان را

-
1. Kulliyāt-1-Nazm p. 389
 2. Ibid p. 507
 3. Ibid p. 371

"She has filed a complaint against me, accusing me of holding up lamentation. She deems the stealing of lamentation under the lips to be an act of impertinence."

The Shaikh (religious preacher) with his typical personality very often provoked the sense of humour in Ghālib who, like many other oriental poets, never missed the opportunity of passing some funny remark on him. The following verse depicts a long-drawn sketch of the shaikh that is at once realistic and burlesque.

از حد گذشت شعله و دستار و ریش سیخ
حیران این درازی یال و دسیم ما 1

The quality of wit and humour in Ghālib's poetry when related with the background of his difficult life, assumes a wider and more significant value. Like a heroic fighter, he laughed at his own misfortunes and faced them with a cheerful spirit. He is a sportsman amongst the poets. Amidst the most disappointing circumstances, he kept up the jollity of his spirit and translated it into poetry with an amazing capacity for humour and a peculiar gusto.

Ghālib has been unanimously held as a great master of technique. A close observation of his poetic work reveals a highly developed craftsmanship, but it does not give the impression of elaborateness and effort. 'Art lies in concealing the Art'. This saying can be fully applied to his poetry and it is the intensity of his emotions that brings the images and metaphors

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 365.

from within with an effortless ease. Ghālib never imposes figures of speech on his language to decorate it like an artist who sets jewels on a piece of art. His poetry is an 'embellished thought' and its images have their roots deep into the emotional experiences. Hence, in addition to producing the visual effect, they are extremely suggestive. A man of keen senses as Ghālib was, he often utilized his sensuous perceptions in giving expression to such feelings as were not sensuous at all.

ز بس کز لاله گل حسرت ناز تو می جو شد
 خیابان محشر دلمای خون گردیده را ماند 1
 سرای که رخ شد بویانه خوشتر
 ز چشمی که پیرایه نم ندارد 2

This process is sometimes reversed wherein the visual suggestion of images is replaced by the emotional suggestion.

سخن بذکر قیامت دراز کن واعظ
 مگر ز طول ببالای آن نگار کشد 3

Here the object compared is not sensuous. Plain and direct similes seldom appear in Ghālib's poetry except when they are unusually attractive or carry some additional aesthetic shade. The following verses can be noted for their simple yet exquisite similes.

نازم فروغ باده ز عکس جمال دوست
 گوی فشرده اند بجام آفتاب را 4

-
1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 424
 2. Ibid p. 419
 3. Ibid p. 316

- 1 بخشش عرق رنگ در باخت رویت
گل از نازکی تابش بنم ندارد
- 2 مرا شگفتی گل در گمان قلند امروز
کر باز بر سر گل شاخ آشیانم سوخت

Generally speaking, Ghālib is a follower of the Mughal poets in poetic diction which has been discussed threadbare in the third chapter. Being an Indian by birth, he had to confine his expression to the pattern of language that was used by the acknowledged masters. Consequently, he had to draw upon a conventional set of similes such as fire, candle, moth, ash, mirage, mirror and phoenix etc., that makes his language unfeeling. But an outstanding and most frequently used metaphor is that of fire which requires closer attention. It comes out from Ghālib's strong affinity with the ancient Īrānīan creed that I have referred to earlier. Fire stands for the poet's emotional upsurge during the creative process.

- 3 بنیام از گداز دل در جگر آتشی چو سیل
غالب اگر دم سخن ره بفرم من بری

It is the intensity of inner feeling that surreptitiously consumes the body from within.

- 4 نه بدرجسته شرار و نه بجا ماده رماد
سوختم لیک ندانم بجز عنوانم سوخت

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm* p. 491
2. *Ibid* p. 395
3. *Ibid* p. 536
4. *Ibid* p. 402

It is the connecting link between the poet and other writers of fiery souls.

عزها چرخ بگردد که جگر سوخته
1 چون من از دوده آذر نغان برخیزد

It blazes in the countenance of the mistress like a Zoroastrian spark and serves as her distinctive quality.

هر چه بیند در رهش گوید همی ✓
2 قبل آتش پستان میرد

In view of Ghālib's supreme attachment to fire, it will not be wrong to call him a fire-worshipper in the garb of a muslim. Islām, or for that matter, any other religion, imposes discipline on man's thinking. Ghālib wants to expand his spirit and explore new regions in the sphere of thought by setting himself free from the discipline of Islām. Like a child, he has a quest and a curiosity for the very thing that is forbidden. He declares

کسی با من چه در صورت پرستی حرف دین گوید ✓
ز آذر گفت دامنم گر ز صورت آفرین گوید
دلم در کعبه از تشنگی گرفت آواره خواهم
3 که با من دست بخانه های هندو چین گوید

In Ghālib's poetry, fire seems to me a constructive force simultaneously at work with the Supreme Power recognized as God by Islām. It aims at the ultimate good by adopting a purifying method, that can burn away the superfluous elements from human life and can bring it to a state of savage beauty and strength.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm p. 420
2. Ibid p. 439
3. Ibid p. 450

We can call it a leftist wing of Ghālib's universe, protesting against the outgrown conventionalism of a Hebraic civilization, and agitating for a pagan system where love and beauty may be seen in their intensity, and therefore, in original, vivid and true form.

I have already referred to Ghālib's interest in ancient Persian. He used to read standard books of that language including Avestā. In a letter to 'Alāī, he called this book to be his very life-breath.¹ Naturally enough, therefore, words belonging to ancient Persian, especially those used in Avestā, have found way into his poetry. Deeply attached as he was to the spirit of ancient Irānian creed, he attempted to create the same spirit in his poetry by the skilful use of the archaic words which retained their old association on account of disuse. Like a great artist, Ghālib is very fond of expressing his ideas in a highly condensed form. In fact, there is evidence to prove that he deliberately made his verses vague by leaving some words as implied. Explaining one of his Ūrdū verses to Munshī Har Gopāl Taftā, he writes:-

مجھ تک کب اُن کی بزم میں آتا تھا دور جام
ساقی نے کچھ ملا نہ دیا ہو شراب میں
'یعنی اب جو دور جام مجھ تک آیا ہے تو ڈرتا ہوں' یہ سارا جملہ مقدر ہے میرا فارسی
کا دیوان جو دیکھے گا وہ جانے گا کہ جملے کے جملے مقدر چھوڑ جاتا ہوں 2

A verse having implied words is mentioned here

1. Khutūt Ghālib p. 56.
2. Ibid p. 142.

راحت خود بستم و ریخ فراوان یافتم
 1 مرده دشمن را اگر جمدی در آزارش کنم

Vagueness is a poetic quality. The more a poet is clear and direct, the nearer he is to prose. But it is very difficult to keep a verse meaningfully vague, because the poet thereby walks on the threshold and can easily be driven into the abyss of obscurity and even meaninglessness. Ghālib's early Urdu poetry is a poor example of this omission. The verses are almost like riddles, composed to display, as it were, a mental feat rather than poetry. His Persian verses, however, are free from this defect although his Persian prose is awfully tortuous and fantastic.

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm* p. 490.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been adopted in transliterating proper names and Arabic and Persian words:-

A Consonants

ا	a
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	s
ج	j
چ	<u>ch</u>
ح	<u>h</u>
خ	<u>kh</u>
د	d
ذ	z
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	zh
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	z
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	e
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q

ک	k
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w (only when consonant)
ہ	h
ع	,
ی	y (only when consonant)

B- vowels

Long vowels

ی	ī	as in	شیر، تیر
و	ū	as in	حور، زور
ا	ā	as in	آب، ناب

Short vowels

ِ	i		
ُ	u		
َ	a		
او	aw	as in	شوق، ذوق
ای	ai	as in	پی، نی

Note:- The names of well-known places and personages have been written in their current spelling. Final 'h' has been dropped except in proper names.

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